

Black's School History

ENGLISH HISTORY ILLUSTRATED
FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

VOLUMES IN THIS SERIES.

- 1216-1307.**—By NORMAN L. FRAZER, B.A. Cantab., M.A. Lond., late Scholar, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Assistant Master in Whitgift Grammar School, Croydon.
- 1307-1399.**—By NORMAN L. FRAZER, B.A. Cantab., M.A. Lond., late Scholar, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Assistant Master in Whitgift Grammar School, Croydon.
- 1399-1485.**—By Miss F. H. DURHAM, Girton College; Alexander Medallist (1st Class Cambridge History Tripos).
- 1485-1603.**—By NORMAN L. FRAZER, B.A. Cantab., M.A. Lond., late Scholar, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Assistant Master in Whitgift Grammar School, Croydon.
- 1603-1660.**—By F. J. WEAVER, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Head Master, Braintree County School, Essex.
- 1660-1715.**—By Rev. J. N. FIGGIS, M.A., late Scholar of St. Catherine's College, and Birkbeck Lecturer in Trinity College, Cambridge (1899-1902).

Other Volumes in Preparation.



EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S CHAPEL.
(The tomb and chapel were built by Henry III.)

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1216—1307

BY

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SCOPE OF THE SERIES

THE time has long gone by when it could be said, as it was said by the Public Schools Commission of 1864, that, 'to gain an elementary knowledge of history, little more is required than some sustained, but not very laborious, efforts of memory;' or that 'it may, therefore, be acquired easily and without any mental exercise of much value.' On the other hand, it is now well recognized that the teaching of history by mere memorizing is useless, and that it is precisely as a mental exercise that history is of the greatest possible value. But many mental exercises may be comparatively dull and mechanical, and unless the pupil can take a very active share in the process, his reading of history will not greatly develop his reasoning powers. The plan of the present series is so laid that interest in the text-book or in the teacher's words is stimulated by supplementary reading, and sufficient premises are given to allow of a reasonable and reasoning deduction. The extracts are taken from contemporary authors, or are themselves contemporary documents, and have been chosen to illustrate as fairly and as vividly as possible the really important events of the period and to explain the motives of the chief actors.

It is not suggested that the present volumes should supersede a good text-book; it is hoped that they will supplement the text-book, of which even the best can offer only a meagre description of the most interesting events, and must almost inevitably fail to reproduce the essential atmosphere—literary and social—which is, after all, often the most important element in the study of history.

For the most part the extracts appear in chronological order, and can therefore be used with the date analysis given at the end of each volume. In the earlier periods it has been thought well to modernize and otherwise simplify archaic English; but occasionally an exact transcript is given, as being in itself a useful illustration. Translations throughout are original except where otherwise stated. The authorities quoted in the text are summarized for each period, and their comparative value indicated; while a short working bibliography—contemporary and modern—is added, so that the pupil may proceed to a fuller study of any special aspect in which he is interested. Nearly all the volumes are divided into two parts, so that, if required, parts of separate volumes may be bound together, or shorter periods may be studied. Finally, the illustrations have been chosen with great care, and with the special object of throwing light upon the social life and development of the period. Maps too, sometimes specially drawn for this series, have been inserted wherever necessary.

INTRODUCTION

THE thirteenth century was a time of great men and great ideas. In England especially it saw the birth of those movements which have chiefly characterized our history. In Church and State alike its study is of unique importance.

At the time when our volume opens the State owed everything to the Church, for the Papacy stood firm for the young king, and without its support he could hardly have kept his throne. The immediate consequences were that the king retained throughout his life a feeling of gratitude to the Pope, which allowed the latter to interfere in Church affairs as none of his predecessors had done, while his very exactions soon raised a violently national party, ready to challenge Roman pretensions on every occasion. This national party, however, required long years of growth, and in the meantime clergy and laity suffered alike: the clergy had to meet the exactions of both Pope and king, and the laity had to be content with the ministrations of Italians totally ignorant

of English customs and language. As far as our period is concerned, we shall observe that circumstances sometimes made even Henry III. protest against papal demands for money from the bishops, while at other times the bishops protested against Henry's own subsidies. It was to protect the Church that the Pope issued the Bull *Clericis Laicos*, and it was to safeguard the State that Edward I. replied by putting the offending Churchmen out of his protection.

It is, at any rate partly, owing to Henry III.'s docility to the Pope that we owe the rise of our representative government. It was our good fortune that those who were irritated by the king's improvidence and bad government had so able a champion as Simon de Montfort, and that Simon himself had so apt a pupil in statesmanship as Edward I. It is, after all, in Edward that the real interest in this period is centred. King and patriot, statesman and soldier, conqueror and legislator, he awakened English nationality to new possibilities and aspects. The measure of constitutional progress is at once taken by remembering that it was the strong and just Edward who had to yield to the demands of his people for the confirmation of the charters.

In the thirteenth century England was still, in a sense, a continental power, and had a continental

policy. By a strange fortune, her position with regard to France was—at any rate, in Edward I.'s reign—much the same as Scotland's position with regard to England. If, earlier, Scotland vehemently asserted its independence, while England shiftily tried to shirk a homage she could not repudiate, yet later the overlordship in both cases brought precisely the same grievances. More than that, a large portion of the English troubles in the thirteenth century rose directly from the possession of Gascony, just as in the next century it was to be primarily responsible for the Hundred Years' War.

If, then, we try to estimate the outstanding features of the period covered by our volume, we notice these: the unity of the people as a nation, the national leadership of the king, the rise of representative government, and the beginnings of an imperial Britain; and it is to illustrate these great matters that all our extracts have been chosen.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
SCOPE OF THE SERIES	vii
INTRODUCTION	ix
1. THE ACCESSION OF HENRY III	i
2. THE BATTLE OF LINCOLN	4
3. LOUIS RETURNS TO FRANCE	7
4. THE RETURN TO ALLEGIANCE	9
5. THE POPE AND THE CARE OF ENGLISH CASTLES	11
6. HONORIUS AND THE WAR IN ENGLAND	12
7. THE ANARCHY IN THE COUNTRY FALKES DE BRÉAUTÉ	13
8. CONFIRMATION OF THE GREAT CHARTER	14
9. WAR IN WALES	15
10. THE POPE'S GOOD ADVICE TO HENRY III.	16
11. THE BARONS FORCED TO GIVE UP THE KING'S CASTLES	18
12. THE FRENCH KING IN POITOU	20
13. THE SIEGE OF BEDFORD	20
14. LLEWELYN AND HIS CLAIMS TO INDEPENDENCE	24
15. ARRIVAL OF THE FRANCISCANS IN ENGLAND	26
16. RICHARD OF CORNWALL'S EXPEDITION TO GASCONY	32
17. RISING IN WALES	34
18. THE POWER OF LLEWELYN-AP-IORWERTH	36
19. FIGHTING IN IRELAND	37
20. THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE	38
21. FALL OF HUBERT DE BURGH	41
22. ENGLISH DISMISSED FOR POITEVINS	43
23. RICHARD MARSHAL AND THE KING	45
24. THE IRISH CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE MARSHAL	46
25. THE KING DISMISSES THE POITEVINS	48
26. ENGLAND RUINED BY PAPAL EXTORTION	49
27. THE MODERATION OF THE LEGATE OTHO	50
28. THE MARRIAGE OF SIMON DE MONTFORT	52
29. THE KING'S QUARREL WITH GILBERT MARSHAL	54
30. EDMUND RICH AND THE PAPAL EXTORTION	56

	PAGE
31. DEATH OF EDMUND RICH	58
32. BONIFACE OF SAVOY AND THE VACANT SEE OF CANTER- BURY	59
33. PARLIAMENT REFUSES SUBSIDIES FOR THE POITOU CAMPAIGN	62
34. THE BATTLE OF TAILLEBOURG	65
35. MASTER MARTIN COMES TO ENGLAND	70
36. LANDOWNERS IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND	71
37. THE KING COMPLAINS TO THE POPE OF HIS EXACTIONS	72
38. THE KING'S DEBTS: LONDONERS MUST PAY	74
39. ENGLISH PORTS GUARDED TO KEEP OUT PAPAL LETTERS	75
40. MASTER MARTIN HAS TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY	76
41. LETTER FROM ENGLAND TO THE POPE	79
42. THE KING'S HALF-BROTHERS COME TO ENGLAND	83
43. EXTORTIONS OF ARCHBISHOP BONIFACE	85
44. LETTER FROM THE POPE CONFIRMING AN ITALIAN APPOINTMENT	86
45. RETURN OF SIMON DE MONTFORT FROM GASCONY	87
46. SIMON DE MONTFORT AND BISHOP GROSSETESTE	89
47. GROSSETESTE'S VISITATION OF THE MONASTERIES IN LINCOLN	90
48. SIMON DE MONTFORT AND HIS GASCON ACCUSERS	92
49. GROSSETESTE'S OPPOSITION TO THE KING'S EXTORTION	95
50. SIMON DE MONTFORT'S SERVICES TO THE CHURCH	97
51. SPECIMEN OF THE KING'S FAVOURITES	98
52. THE POPE'S OFFER TO RICHARD OF CORNWALL	100
53. SIMON DE MONTFORT AND THE FRENCH REGENCY	101
54. ILL-TREATMENT OF THE JEWS	102
55. MARRIAGE OF EDWARD AND ELEANOR OF CASTILE	104
56. HENRY III. ACCEPTS SICILY FOR HIS SON EDMUND	104
57. THE KINGDOM PLEDGED FOR THE POPE'S WAR	106
58. EDMUND INVESTED WITH THE KINGDOM OF SICILY	107
59. QUARREL BETWEEN THE KING AND THE EARL MARSHAL	108
60. EDWARD AND HIS WELSH NEIGHBOURS	109
61. <i>THE SONG OF THE CHURCH</i>	111
62. COMPLAINTS OF THE GASCON WINE MERCHANTS	112
63. EARL RICHARD ELECTED KING OF THE ROMANS	114
64. EDMUND PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT	115
65. SIMON DE MONTFORT QUARRELS WITH WILLIAM DE VALENCE	116
66. THE WELSH EXPEDITION	117
67. THE PARLIAMENT OF LONDON, 1258	121

CONTENTS

xv

	PAGE
68. THE MAD PARLIAMENT	123
69. LETTER FROM EYE-WITNESS OF PROCEEDINGS AT OXFORD	125
70. THE PROVISIONS OF OXFORD	127
71. THE KING'S ADHESION TO THE PROVISIONS	132
72. QUARREL BETWEEN RICHARD DE CLARE AND SIMON DE "MONTFORT	133
73. THE ESQUIREHOOD AND PRINCE EDWARD	135
74. THE TREATY OF PARIS	136
75. THE BARONS' WARS	136
76. THE MISE OF AMIENS	138
77. THE BATTLE OF LEWES: A ROYALIST ACCOUNT	140
78. THE BATTLE OF LEWES: A BARONIAL ACCOUNT	144
79. <i>SUNG AGAINST THE KING OF ALMAYNE</i>	146
80. THE MISE OF LEWES	148
81. THE ESCAPE OF PRINCE EDWARD	149
82. THE BATTLE OF EVESHAM	152
83. <i>THE BATTLE OF EVESHAM</i>	151
84. <i>A HYMN IN HONOUR OF SAINT SIMON</i>	154
85. THE DISINHERITED AND THE DICTUM OF KENILWORTH	155
86. LLEWELYN MADE OVERLORD OF WALES	157
87. THE NEW CHURCH AT WESTMINSTER	158
88. EDWARD'S JOURNEY HOME	159
89. THE ARRANGEMENTS DURING EDWARD'S ABSENCE	162
90. PERSONAL DESCRIPTION OF EDWARD I.	162
91. THE DESTRUCTION OF LLEWELYN'S PRINCIPALITY	164
92. EDWARD IN WALES	166
93. EARL WARRENNE AND QUO WARRANTO	168
94. THE STATUTE OF MORTMAIN	168
95. THE CONQUEST OF WALES	171
96. ACCIDENT TO THE KING IN GASCONY	175
97. BULL AUTHORIZING MARRIAGE OF PRINCE EDWARD AND MARGARET OF SCOTLAND	175
98. THE STATUTE OF QUIA EMPTORES	177
99. BANISHMENT OF THE JEWS	179
100. ENGLISH LANDS HELD BY ALEXANDER III.	181
101. KING EDWARD AND SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE	182
102. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR SCOTTISH AFFAIRS	184
103. EDWARD'S CLAIM TO THE SCOTTISH OVERLORDSHIP	185
104. THE SCOTTISH CLAIMANTS' SUBMISSION TO EDWARD I.	186
105. A SEA-FIGHT BETWEEN ENGLISH AND NORMANS	187
106. CONFISCATION OF GASCONY BY THE FRENCH KING	187

	PAGE
107. THE KING AND THE CLERGY	189
108. FRENCH RAIDS ON ENGLAND	190
109. A NATIONAL APPEAL AGAINST FRANCE	192
110. JOHN BALIOL'S REPUDIATION OF ALLEGIANCE	193
111. THE FRANCO-SCOTTISH ALLIANCE AND THE SCOTTISH NOBLES	195
112. THE KING, THE ARCHBISHOP, AND THE CLERGY	195
113. THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR	197
114. EARL WARRENNE APPOINTED GUARDIAN OF SCOTLAND	200
115. FEUDAL OPPOSITION TO THE KING	201
116. THE BARONS AND SERVICE OVERSEA	202
117. THE KING'S APOLOGY FOR TAXATION	204
118. THE CONFIRMATION OF THE CHARTERS	205
119. DE TALLAGIO NON CONCEDENDO	208
120. A CRITICAL YEAR	210
121. THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE SCOTTISH WAR	213
122. WILLIAM WALLACE AND THE BATTLE OF SHIRLING BRIDGE	215
123. THE SCONE STONE	217
124. THE BATTLE OF FALKIRK	217
125. TRIAL OF WILLIAM WALLACE	219
126. THE ARCHBISHOP SUSPENDED BY THE POPE	220
127. THE MURDER OF JOHN COMYN	222
128. BRUCE CROWNED KING OF SCOTLAND	223
129. EDWARD'S LAST EXPEDITION TO SCOTLAND	223
130. <i>ELFGY ON THE DEATH OF EDWARD I.</i>	226
 GENEALOGICAL TABLES	 228
REVIEW OF AUTHORITIES	235
DATE SUMMARY	241

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S CHAPEL	<i>frontispiece</i>
MAP OF GASCONY	<i>facing 1</i>
CORONATION OF HENRY III.	2
WILLIAM THE MARSHAL, EARL OF PEMBROKE	10
SALISBURY CATHEDRAL	30
A HOUSEHOLD DINING, MÆDIEVAL LONDON.	55
THE BATTLE OF TAILLEBOURG	67
LINCOLN CATHEDRAL	91
THE NAVE, ST ALBANS ABBEY	99
MAP OF THE MARCHES	110
LEWES	142
A JOUST OR TOURNAMENT	160
EDWARD I.	163
BRASS OF SIR JOHN D'ABERNON (DIED 1277) IN STOKE D'ABERNON CHURCH, SURREY	169
CONWAY CASTLE	172
CHARING CROSS	180
CARNARVON CASTLE	191
GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD I.—OBVERSE	198
GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD I.—REVERSE	198
PARLIAMENT OF EDWARD I.	206
CORONATION CHAIR IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY	218



MAP OF GASCONY.

ENGLISH HISTORY

FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

1216—1307

1. THE ACCESSION OF HENRY III.

1216. Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover, ii. 197 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-1235.

ON the death of John, king of England, there met together at Gloucester on the eve of the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude [October 28], in the presence of Gualo, papal legate; Peter, bishop of Winchester; Silvester, bishop of Worcester; Randolph, earl of Chester; William Marshal, earl of Pembroke; William, earl Ferrars; John Marshal; and Philip d'Albiny, together with abbots, priors, and many others, to crown king John's eldest son, Henry, as king of England. And on the next day, when all necessary preparations for the coronation had been made, Gualo, the legate, associating with himself all these bishops and earls, conducted the king in solemn procession to the conventual church to be crowned; and there, standing before the high altar, in the presence of the clergy and people, Henry swore on the holy gospels and the relics of many saints to live in honour, peace, and reverence to God

and holy church and its ordinances all the days of his life; he swore also to do strict justice to the



CORONATION OF HENRY III.

(From MS. in British Museum—Vitelius A. XIII.)

people committed to his charge, and to abolish bad laws and wicked customs, if so be any exist in the

realm, and to keep good laws and make them be kept of all men. Thereupon he did homage to the holy Roman church and to pope Innocent for the realm of England and Ireland; and he swore faithfully to pay a thousand marks, as promised by his father, to the Roman church as long as he should hold those realms; and after this, Peter, bishop of Winchester, placed the crown upon his head and anointed him king, with the prayers and anthems that are usually sung at a king's coronation. Finally, after mass had been duly performed, the bishops and earls escorted the king in his royal robes to a banquet, to which all sat down according to their rank and feasted in gladness and joy. And on the next day the king received homage and fealty from all the bishops, earls, barons, and others present, and all promised him their most loyal service. King Henry was crowned in the tenth year of his age, on the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude—that is to say, on the twenty-eighth day of October; and after his coronation the king remained in the guardianship of William, earl of Pembroke, the great marshal, who forthwith sent letters to all the sheriffs and keepers of castles in the realm of England with instructions to each one to be zealous in the service of the newly-crowned king, with a like promise to all of estates and many rewards, according as they stood loyally by the king. And so all the nobles and keepers of castles, who had served his father, stood much more loyally by Henry than by king John, because they all thought that the father's misdeeds ought not to be visited upon the son; accordingly they all prepared for defence,

and began to fortify their castles as strongly as possible. Moreover, the king's friends were greatly encouraged, because they saw that on every Sunday and holy day Louis and his followers and supporters were being excommunicated.

2. THE BATTLE OF LINCOLN.

1217. Translated from Latin of Roger of
Wendover, ii. 215 [Rolls]. *Flot.* 1216-
1235.

Meanwhile, when the royal army had been observed by the garrison to be approaching the city on the castle side, they secretly despatched a messenger by a postern-gate in the rear of the castle to inform the leaders of the army of everything that was taking place within the walls. He told them that if they wished they could enter by a wicket which had been left open for their arrival; but they refused to let the whole army enter by it, and only sent Falkes with all his men and all the cross-bowmen to open at any rate one of the city gates for the army. Thereupon the whole host marched to the north gate and had time to force it, while, all the same, the barons did not cease to shoot great stones from their engines against the castle. But, in the meantime, with all his men and the cross-bowmen, Falkes marched into the castle and quickly posted them on the walls of the houses and the breastworks of the castle, whence they aimed their deadly weapons at the barons' chargers, and brought horses and riders to the ground, so that almost in the twinkling of an eye they accounted for large numbers of men-at-arms, knights, and nobles.

Falkes, seeing many of the noblest of the enemy thus brought to earth, made a bold sally from the castle at the head of his men into the midst of the foe; but he was captured and taken off by the mass of troops who charged him, till he was freed again by the loyalty of the cross-bowmen and his followers. Meanwhile the main force of the royal army broke down the city gates—a work of great difficulty—entered the town, and boldly charged the enemy. Then you might see sparks fly from the sword-blows, flashing like thunder-bolts against helmed heads; but at last, thanks to the cross-bowmen, by whose valour the horses ridden by the barons were pierced with arrows and butchered like pigs, the baronial army was utterly defeated, and as the horses fell dead the riders were captured without possibility of rescue. Finally, after the utter exhaustion of the barons and the capture of large numbers of them by the royal forces—not a man of them but was kept in close keeping—the king's army, in serried ranks, charged the count of Perche and surrounded him; but when he could not hold out against the attack of his assailants, they called on him to surrender and so escape with his life. But he swore with an oath that he would not surrender to Englishmen who were traitors to their own king. Thereupon someone made a dash at him, and, striking him in the eye-hole, pierced his brain; he fell to earth, and never uttered another word. So the Frenchmen, seeing that their leader had fallen, took to flight, horse and foot; but it proved a ruinous flight for them, for the bar of the southern gate, through which they fled, had been replaced

athwart the gate, and proved no slight hindrance to their flight, for whenever anyone came up wishing to go out by that gate, he had to dismount and open the gate, and when he went out the gate closed again, with the bar athwart as before; and so that gate threw a great difficulty in the way of the fugitives. Now, the king's troops pressed on in pursuit of the fleeing barons and French; but although many were captured in flight, the royal troops merely made a pretence of pursuing them, because, had the ties of relationship and blood not stood in the way, not a man of them would have escaped. But, not to prolong my tale needlessly, there were captured of the baronial leaders: Sayer, earl of Winchester; Henry Bohun, earl of Hereford; and count Gilbert of Ghent, who had recently been created earl of Lincoln by Louis; the count of Perche remained dead on the field.

This battle, which in derision of Louis and the barons was called the Fair of Lincoln, was fought on May 19, on the Saturday in Whitsun week; it began between one and three, and by nine o'clock these good managers had made an end of all. . . .

After the death of the count of Perche, as related above, all took to flight, horse and foot alike, in the direction of London, foremost among them being the marshal of France, with the castellan of Arras and all the Frenchmen. Many of them, and nearly all those on foot, were slain before reaching Louis; for the men of the towns through which they fled went out against them with swords and clubs, and ambushed and slew many of them. About 200 knights reached London, and came to Louis with

the news of their great losses ; but he sneered, and told them that it was their flight that had brought about their friends' capture, because if they had kept the field they would perchance have kept themselves and their comrades from capture and danger.

3. LOUIS RETURNS TO FRANCE.

1217. Translated from Latin of Roger of
Wendover, ii. 223 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-
1235.

Then the marshal, the king's guardian and regent of the realm, assembled a large army of knights and soldiers, and marched in great force to London, which he blockaded on every side, by land and water ; and by thus cutting off every kind of supplies from the besieged he thought to compel them to surrender. But Louis, in this extremity, gave the legate and the marshal to understand that he was willing to comply with their terms in everything, on condition that they should offer a satisfactory peace, saving his honour and securing the good treatment of his men. And they, in whose hands the whole matter lay, being most anxious to get rid of Louis, sent him back written terms of peace which, if he would accept, they would arrange, and would undertake to secure him and his fellow-adventurers free departure from England, and, if not, they would leave nothing undone to bring about his ruin and disgrace. Now, when Louis and his advisers had considered these terms of peace, they were greatly pleased that they were allowed to leave England, where they said that further stay was

useless; so Louis requested the legate and the marshal to fix a time and place for the speedy conclusion of this treaty. Both sides, therefore, agreeing, they came to a conference near the town of Staines, on the banks of the Thames, to conclude the peace—king Henry with the legate, the marshal, and many others on the one side; Louis, with the earls, barons, and the rest of his adventurers on the other—and there by divine favour, on September 11, agreed to the following terms of peace:

In the first place Louis, and all who had been excommunicated, and his fellow-adventurers, swore on the holy gospels that they would abide by the decision of holy church, and would henceforth be loyal to our lord the pope and the Roman church. Louis swore, too, that he would withdraw forthwith from the realm of England with all his men, and that he would never in his life come back again with evil intent; and that he would do his best to persuade his father to restore to Henry, king of England, all his rights oversea. He swore, moreover, that he would forthwith surrender to the king and his subjects all the castles and lands that he and his followers had seized in the realm of England. The king of England, together with the legate and the marshal, swore on the holy gospels that they would restore to the barons of England and all others of the realm all their rights and inheritances, together with all the liberties before asked, on account of which discord had arisen between John, king of England, and the barons. All the prisoners who had ransomed themselves before the signing of this peace, and had already paid their creditors part of

the ransom, were not to be given back what had been paid ; but if anything remained not yet paid, that was to be wholly remitted to the debtor. All the prisoners captured at Lincoln or in the sea-fight off Dover, either on the king's side or on Louis', were everywhere immediately to be set free from every ransom and payment. And after this Louis and all his followers were absolved in the form observed by the Church, and then all gave one another the kiss of peace, although many of them deceitfully pretended a joy that was no joy. Therupon Louis returned to London, where he received from the citizens a loan of five thousand pounds sterling to meet his necessities, and then he was hastily conducted by the great marshal to the sea, and to his lasting dishonour crossed over to France.

4. THE RETURN TO ALLEGIANCE.

1217.

Translated from Latin of Henry III.'s
letter to Honorius III. Shirley,
'Royal Letters,' vii. [Rolls].

To his most excellent lord and father in Christ, the most holy Honorius, by God's grace supreme pontiff, Henry, by the same grace king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, sends greeting with the reverence due to so august a lord and father.

To your most excellent governance, by whose aid we have been raised from tears to smiles, from dark-to light, from a cribbed cradle to far-stretching realms, we do not cease, and never shall cease, to pour forth our best and most grateful thanks. And

as we are beholden to you, as to our very dear lord,



WILLIAM THE MARSHAL,
EARL OF PEMBROKE.

*(From his tomb in the Temple
Church, London.)*

in every possible way, so are we bound to you, of our free accord, for an annual tribute of 1,000 marks as a special debt. That the payment thereof has not been as punctual during our reign as it ought to have been is a real source of annoyance and grief to us. And that we may not be held altogether inexcusable, we have sent to your holiness's presence our well-beloved and trusty servants the venerable father Ralph, bishop of Chichester; Peter Saracen, a Roman; Master Geoffrey of Calais; and brother Richard, a monk of Abingdon, as our messengers to explain to you by word of mouth, if it is your pleasure, the circumstances of the case and of our position, with which they are fully acquainted. We have given them orders and instructions not to dare to conceal from you any point connected with our position or the state of our realm. . . .

But up till now our power has been unequal to our

will, because in the first place, in consequence of the impoverishment of their districts by the war, our bailiffs are not able to pay in as much as usual to our treasury; and, secondly, because our loyal subject, William earl marshal, pledged himself on our behalf to the lord Louis, under a heavy penalty, to pay 10,000 marks for the boon of peace made between him and us; and, thirdly, because we are bound—actually, indeed, urged thereto at your request—to give satisfaction to the illustrious queen Berengaria in a matter of 5,000 marks due to her. Moreover, we are worried with other debts which fully occupy us, who are without experience in weighty business. But by God's favour a settlement satisfactory to your holiness, especially in the matter of the tribute due to you, will soon be made. . . .

When these our messengers left, the state of the country and ourselves was such that all the magnates from every part of England and its borders were coming in and returning to our allegiance and peace; and we hope that with the help of your governance they will become more and more loyal. . . . Witness earl William Marshal, guardian of us and of our realm, at Westminster, November 6.

5. THE POPE AND THE CARE OF ENGLISH CASTLES.

1220.

Translated from the Latin of a letter from Honorius III. to Randolph. Shirley, 'Royal Letters,' civ. [Rolls].

Honorius the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his well-beloved son Pandulph, bishop-elect

of Norwich, our chamberlain, legate of the apostolic see, greeting and apostolic blessing.

By the authority of these present letters we order you not to allow anyone in the realm of England, however faithful a subject or dear friend he may be to our very dear son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious king of England, to hold more than two royal castles in his charge; for this we think will prove advantageous to the king. Postpone appeals and crush opposition by ecclesiastical censure. Given at Viterbo, May 28, in the fourth year of our pontificate.

6. HONORIUS AND THE WAR IN ENGLAND.

1221. Translated from the Latin of a letter from Honorius III. to the archbishop of York and his suffragans. — *Stanley*, 'Royal Letters,' ch. [Rolls].

Honorius the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren the archbishop of York and his suffragans, greeting and the apostolic blessing.

Although peace is to be sought by reason of its own sweetness, wherein those who love it take dear delight, yet it must be sought after the more eagerly, and when obtained, be kept the more affectionately, because when it is neglected, discord, the opposite of peace, creeps in upon us, and brings in its train bitterness and sorrow not only to our bodies, but to our souls, as many have often experienced more vividly than can be expressed. Wherefore, since, as we have heard to our great grief, a serious war is beginning

to break out in England, which, if not quickly repressed, will possibly spread to the ruin of the whole realm; in order that remedy be not forthcoming too late, if it gain strength by further delays, we warn and carefully exhort you, brethren, by the strict injunctions of our apostolic letters, bidding you individually, each making it his own business, to labour with all zeal and energy for the repression of every excuse for war and for the establishment of firm peace. And since those whose vices make them restless are to be restrained by the virtues of others, be zealous to restrain the disturbers of the peace by spiritual and temporal visitations, so that even against their own will they give up so shameless a struggle against the general quiet, and that the people settle down in the loveliness of peace and in well-favoured rest. Given at the Lateran, April 29, in the fourth year of our pontificate.

7. THE ANARCHY IN THE COUNTRY. FALKES DE BRÉAUTÉ.

1222.

'Translated from a Latin letter from Will. Marshal to Hubert de Burgh. Shirley, 'Royal Letters,' clii. [Rolls].

To his dearest friend and lord Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England, William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, greeting and sentiments of sincere affection.

I have thought it right to notify to your affectionate kindness, in which I have the fullest confidence, that the sheriff and the bailiffs of Falkes de Bréauté are seizing my lands in Bedfordshire; at this I greatly marvel, and with cause, for I have

beén to our lord the king, and have spoken with him; and I am always ready and prepared, as I ever shall be, in accordance with the custom of the realm, to do all that I ought to do, as to my lord. I therefore earnestly and especially beg of you to give orders for my lands to be left in peace, both in Bedfordshire and elsewhere, and to forbid, if it be your pleasure, any from seizing my lands to my loss; for be assured that, by God's grace, I shall come to you within a fortnight after Easter to perform in full my whole duty to my lord the king, as to my very dear lord. Farewell.

8. CONFIRMATION OF THE GREAT CHARTER.

1223 Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover, ii. 260 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1210
1235.

In the year of our Lord 1223 king Henry held his Christmas court at Oxford. Afterwards, in the octave of the Epiphany, he came to London to a conference with the barons, and was there petitioned by the archbishop of Canterbury and other magnates to confirm the liberties and free customs, to secure which war had been waged against his father; and, as was plainly shown by the archbishop, the king could not avoid doing this, seeing that when Louis withdrew from England, he, and all the nobles of the realm with him, swore to observe all the aforesaid liberties and to have them observed of all men. Thereupon William Briwere, one of the king's counsellors, made this answer on the king's behalf: 'The liberties you demand ought not by right to be

observed, because they were extorted by force.' But the archbishop, indignant at this reply, rebuked him, saying: 'William, if you loved the king you would not hinder the peace of the realm.' Thereupon the king, observing the archbishop's anger, said: 'We swore to all these liberties, and we are all bound to keep our oath.' And forthwith he held a council to consider the matter, and sent his writs to every sheriff in the realm, with instructions to have an inquest made on oath by twelve knights or legal men of every shire into the liberties in force in England in the time of his grandfather, king Henry, and to send the results of the inquest to the king at London within a fortnight after Easter.

9. WAR IN WALES.

1223.

Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover, ii. 270 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-1235.

In the same year, while William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, was in Ireland, Llewelyn, king of the Welsh, seized in force two of William's castles, beheaded every man he found there, and marched off, after garrisoning the castles with his Welshmen. But when the marshal had the news brought to him a few days later he returned speedily to England, and gathering together a great army, besieged and took the castles; and because Llewelyn had beheaded and slain all the marshal's men captured in the castles, the marshal now retaliated on the Welshmen by beheading them; and afterwards, by way of further vengeance, he invaded Llewelyn's land with fire and

sword, and ravaged all the country he passed through. Thereupon Llewelyn went out against the marshal in great force; but the latter had the fortune of war on his side, and by a fierce onslaught on the enemy he slew many of the Welshmen, and put them all to flight, and then in close pursuit he butchered them without mercy. Killed and captured were reckoned at 9,000, for very few indeed escaped by flight.

10. THE POPE'S GOOD ADVICE TO HENRY III.

1224. Translated from Latin letter of Honorius III. to Henry III. Shirley, 'Royal Letters,' App. 16 [Rolls].

We rejoice in the Lord and give Him thanks that, as our beloved sons, Master Stephen de Lucy and the noble Geoffrey de Craucumb, your discreet and loyal envoys, have agreed in reporting to us and our brethren your conduct is in every way praiseworthy, so that the flower seems to give certain promise of pleasing and acceptable fruit in the future; wherefore we are filled with the greater eagerness, in that we hold your person and realm in the embrace of our especial affection. But because the minds of men differ even as their faces, precisely as the poet says :

Men are of a thousand kinds, and life hath many a varying shade :

Each man hath his own desires, and many a differing prayer is made,'

it is expedient that, just as you are the common lord of all men in your realm, so you should labour to please all in common, by showing yourself gracious

and kind to every man ; and if discord arise at some time among them, as usually happens among so many men, you should not incline to one side, but should correct, guide and govern both sides with equal consideration, care and earnestness, so that every ðne of them may acknowledge in you the uprightness of royal majesty, and may not fear to repose his case upon your bosom and have confidence in you, as a loyal vassal in a gracious lord or a dutiful son in a loving father.

We therefore ask your majesty earnestly to write this on the tablets of your heart, and, storing it in the innermost recesses of your mind, to bring it forth for use when necessary, favouring neither side, but showing yourself impartial as a king should, even dissembling your own wrongs, when it shall seem advisable, to avoid scandal. Especially do we suggest to your majesty and honestly advise you not to stand on your rights with your vassals at this present time, and not to offend them in the matter of the restoration of your dues, but wisely to postpone to a suitable time such and other matters as could create offence. You must know that your aforesaid envoys, whom we send back to you with every commendation for their loyalty and ungrudging service, submitted to us your requests about the matters before mentioned and others as well, and worked hard and keenly to get them granted. Some of these we have allowed, but some, acting on the advice of our brethren, we have thought it better to hold over for the present, because we saw that it was better so. These and any others you think fit to lay before us we will hear at a suitable time, for we love you most

anectionately as the especial child of the Roman church, and have so far of our free will been careful to secure peace for you and your realm both within and without; and with watchful zeal we intend so to do for the future and to extend to you in all things seemly the favour and grace, the counsel and aid ôf the apostolic see. Given at the Lateran, March 14, in the eighth year of our pontificate.

11. THE BARONS FORCED TO GIVE UP THE KING'S CASTLES.

1224. Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover, ii. 276 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-1235.

In the year of our Lord 1224 king Henry held his Christmas court at Northampton, along with the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of his province, and a great retinue of knights. But the earl of Chester with his fellow-conspirators held the festival at Leicester, arrogantly threatening the king and his justiciar because the former demanded from him the surrender and custody of his castles and lands.

On the following day after mass the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, clad in white and with lighted tapers, excommunicated all disturbers of king and kingdom, and all invaders of holy church and church property; and then the archbishop sent special messengers to Leicester to the earl of Chester and his accomplices; denouncing each and every one of them in strong terms, to the effect that, unless on the following day they surrendered all castles and

honours pertaining to the crown into the king's hands, he himself and all the bishops would excommunicate them individually by name, as our lord the Pope had ordered them to do. Then the earl of Chester and his accomplices, being informed by their spies that the king had a larger number of troops than themselves, were greatly alarmed, because, if they had had the means, they would have waged fierce war against the king on account of the justiciar; but when they considered their lack of resources, they were afraid to enter upon an uncertain struggle. And, besides, they feared that the archbishop and bishops would excommunicate them if they did not give up their undertaking; and the result was that they thought better of it, and came every man of them to the king at Northampton, and, beginning with the earl of Chester, surrendered to the king all castles, towns, honours, and charges pertaining to the crown. But none the less these same nobles were still indignant with the king for refusing to dismiss the justiciar at their bidding. The leading spirits of this strife were the earl of Chester, the earl of Albemarle, John, constable of Chester, Falkes and his castellans, Robert de Vipont, Brian de L'Isle, Peter de Mauleon, Philip Marc, Engelard d'Athie, William de Cantelo and his son William, and many others, who were all trying their hardest to disturb the peace of the realm.

12. THE FRENCH KING IN POITOU.

1224. Translated from Latin of Roger of
Wendover, ii. 277 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-
1235.

In the same year Louis, king of France, marched with a great army against La Rochelle, in order to subdue the town by arms or bribery. When he arrived there he offered the citizens a large sum of money to surrender their town to him and to do him homage, and henceforth to be his dutiful subjects; and the citizens, considering themselves practically abandoned by the king of England, under the inducement of entreaty and bribery, handed over La Rochelle to the king of France. Then the king put his troops and liegemen in the town and castle, and finally, after taking security for the whole of Poitou, he returned peacefully to his own country without any bloodshed. Now, La Rochelle is a port in Poitou where the kings of England and their troops had usually landed for the defence of those parts; but now the way was closed to them by the plots laid against the king by his barons in England.

13. THE SIEGE OF BEDFORD.

1224. Translated from Latin of Roger of
Wendover, ii. 278 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-
1235.

In the octave of the Holy Trinity the king, the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and many others, assembled at a conference at Northampton to discuss the affairs of the kingdom: for the king

desired the counsel of his nobles in the matter of his lands oversea, which had been gradually usurped by the king of France. But events turned out other than he expected. There were at that time at Dunstable some of the king's justices in Eyre, as we call them—namely, Martin de Pateshulle, Thomas de Muleton, Henry of Braybrook, and others—who were there hearing pleas of 'novel disseisin' [unlawful appropriation of men's lands] in the king's court; and among others Falkes de Bréauté, who had robbed many men, was there amerced in more than thirty pairs of writs, for each of which he was liable to a fine of a hundred pounds to the king. So when Falkes was informed of this he was exceedingly angry, and unadvisedly ordered the garrison of Bedford Castle to march to Dunstable in arms, seize the justices, imprison them in Bedford Castle, and keep them in close confinement there. But the justices, on receipt of this news, withdrew in all haste in whatever direction the impulse led them; but Henry of Braybrook, fleeing without due caution, was captured by the soldiers, and after being roughly treated by them, was thrown into prison at Bedford Castle. When this report was spread abroad Henry's wife came to the king at Northampton, and, in the presence of the whole council, in tears laid a complaint about her husband's treatment; and the king, exceedingly indignant at what had been done, asked advice from clerks and laity alike as to what he was to do to punish such an offence. All with one voice advised the king to make no delay, but, setting aside all other business, to march in armed force against Bedford Castle and punish such audacity. This advice

seeming good to our lord the king, at his orders all flew to arms and with all speed marched to Bedford Castle, clergy and laity alike. So the king sent messengers to the commanders of the garrison demanding entrance, and ordered his justice Henry of Braybrook to be given up. But William of Bréauté, Falkes' brother, and others of the garrison, replied to the messengers that they would not surrender the castle except under orders from their lord Falkes, especially as they were not bound to the king by homage or fealty. When this answer was brought to the king he was extremely indignant, and angrily ordered the castle to be surrounded by troops. The besieged, too, prepared for the defence, and got ready to defend the walls and ramparts in every part. Then the archbishop and all the bishops with lighted tapers levelled the weapon of excommunication at Falkes and all the garrison. The siege of the castle began on June 16, which was the Thursday next after the octave of Trinity. By the king's orders engines of war, such as stone-slingers and mangonels, were brought up, and when put in place round the walls they kept up a constant and severe attack. The besieged, on the other hand, made a brave defence, and rained a deadly shower of weapons on the besiegers. Why make a long tale of it? Many were wounded and slain on both sides.

Meanwhile, the king sent a body of troops in search of Falkes, to find him and bring him to the king; but, warned by his scouts, he fled to Wales, and the messengers, returning to the king, confessed that their trouble had been in vain. But the king, moved to anger, swore by his father's soul that if the

garrison were captured by force, he would hang them all on the gallows. But they, provoked by the king's threat to greater outrages, forbade the king's messengers to importune them further about the surrender of the castle. So on both sides the deadly hatred grew from the numbers of the slain, so that brother spared not brother, nor father children. But at last, after great slaughter on both sides, the king's engineers built a wooden fort of great height, geometrically constructed, in which they placed crossbowmen, who could command everything taking place in the castle; and after that no one in the castle could put off his armour without at once being mortally wounded. But all the same the garrison did not cease to bring down the enemy, for, to the confusion of the royalists, they killed two knights of the king's army who rashly exposed themselves, thus provoking their enemies in every possible way.

Now, meanwhile, the king ordered the corn, cattle, and other possessions on Falkes' manors and lands everywhere throughout England to be seized and confiscated, that thus he, in this lengthy siege, might derive assistance at his expense. At length, when the king's men, not, however, without considerable loss, had brought up two penthouses, which in French are called *brutesches*, they attacked the castle on every side, and compelled the besieged to retire by sheer force. The royalists then entered the castle, and capturing horses, arms, store of provisions, and numerous other things, returned in triumph. After this, when the besieged saw that they could resist no longer, on the eve of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin [August 15], some went

out and begged the king's mercy; but the king ordered them all to be kept in close confinement till he had subdued the remainder. And on the next day, when all the garrison came out, with terrible wounds and scars, and were brought before the king, they were all sentenced to be hanged; and so there were hanged of knights and men-at-arms, who, for the insolence they had shown to the king in the siege now ended, could not obtain mercy, four-and-twenty. But Henry of Braybrook came to the king safe and sound, and gave him hearty thanks. Falkes, seduced by false hopes, thought that his men could defend the castle for a whole year; but at length, when he knew for certain that his brothers and all the others had been hanged, he came under safe conduct of Alexander, bishop of Coventry, to the king at Bedford, and falling on the ground at his feet, begged him to show him mercy in return for his great services and expensive labours undertaken for him and his father in time of war. The king then, acting on advice, deprived him of castles, lands, and everything else, and handed him over into the safe keeping of Eustace, bishop of London, till such time as it should be decided what to do with him.

14. LLEWELYN AND HIS CLAIMS TO INDEPENDENCE.

1224.

Translated from Latin letter of Llewelyn to Henry III. Shirley, 'Royal Letters,' cci. [Rolls].

To the reverend lord and his very dear brother Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, lord

of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Llewelyn, prince of North Wales, sends greeting and dutiful affection.

We have dutifully received your majesty's writ, wherein, among other matters, you informed us that men of the lord Falkes de Bréauté had done you grievous wrong by capturing and retaining till now Henry of Braybrook. On this account you have thought fit to lay siege to Falkes' castle of Bedford. Accordingly, you have forbidden us to give him aid or counsel by harbouring him or his men. To this we return you answer that Falkes came into our land with weighty and bitter complaints as to what your council was succeeding in doing to him. He proved, moreover, that the aforesaid Henry was captured without his consent or knowledge, and although he did not approve of what had been done, nevertheless he offered to make William de Bréauté and his retainers stand their trial, and to give satisfaction for what they had done. And because your council rejected this offer he maintained that it proved he had been unjustly treated. He left our land on the same day as he had come to us.

It is not because we are bound to excuse ourselves for receiving him and his men that we are sending you this letter; for we are just as independent as the king of Scotland, who welcomes outlaws from England, and that with impunity. . . . Moreover, you have informed us that sentence has been passed against Falkes as a disturber of the realm; but you may be assured they rather are disturbers of the realm who offer you such bad counsel as to banish from your presence and council great men, necessary for

your welfare, disinheriting them and harassing them without reason merely at your caprice. If, indeed, Falkes shall defend himself against the lord pope, who wants to disinherit him, we do not believe that he would be excommunicate in the sight of God. But whatever others may do in these or other matters, we will do nothing against our conscience. We would prefer, indeed, to be excommunicated by man than to do anything against God, when our conscience would condemn us. In this and other matters may God give you and us wholesome counsel, for we are in great need thereof. Farewell.

15. ARRIVAL OF THE FRANCISCANS IN ENGLAND.

1224.

Translated from Latin of Thomas of
Eccleston, p. 5 [Rolls], *Cma* 1900.

In the year of our Lord 1224, in the time of Pope Honorius, and in the same year as the rule of St. Francis was confirmed by him, in the eighth year of our lord king Henry, son of John, on the Tuesday after the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin [September 8], which in that year fell on a Sunday, the Minorite Friars landed for the first time in England, at Dover. There were four clerks and five laymen. These were the clerks: first, brother Agnellus of Pisa, in deacon's orders and about thirty years of age, who had been appointed by St. Francis at the last general chapter of the order as provincial minister for England; he had, indeed, been warden at Paris, and had conducted himself so wisely that he was popular with friars and seculars alike, as his

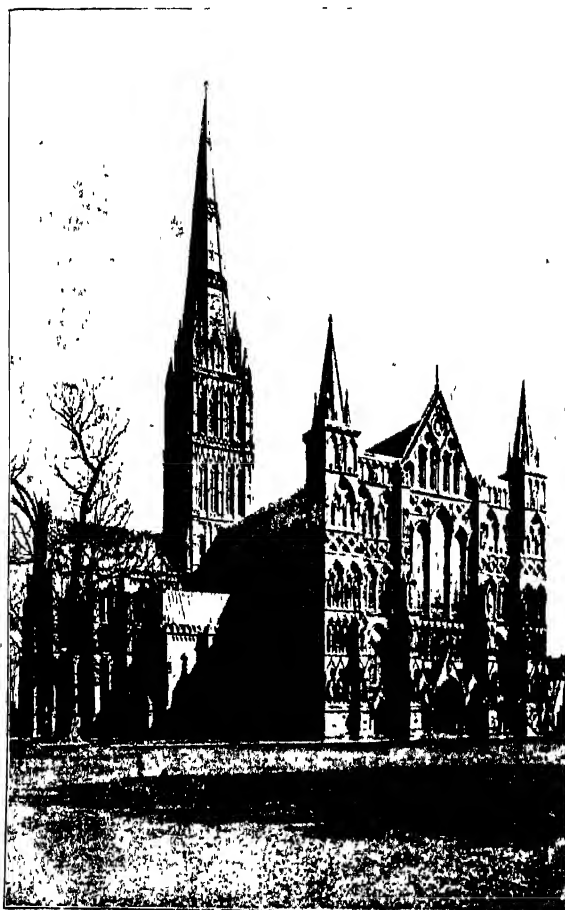
well-known saintliness deserved. The second was brother Richard of Intworth, an Englishman, a priest and preacher, somewhat advanced in years, who was the first to preach to the people north of the Alps ; and in course and order of time he was sent, under brother John Parens, of blessed memory, as provincial minister to Ireland, for he had taken the place of brother Agnellus in England, when the latter went to the general chapter of the order, at which the translation of the remains of St. Francis took place ; and he had given splendid proofs of the highest saintliness. So, after completing a faithful ministry acceptable to the Lord, he was relieved in a full chapter by brother Albert, of blessed memory, from every duty of the order, and, fired with zeal for the faith, he went to Syria, and there had a fortunate end and found peace. The third was brother Richard of Devon, also an Englishman, in acolyte's orders, quite young, who bequeathed us many examples of his great-heartedness and obedience. For, after obediently travelling through different provinces, worn out with frequent attacks of ague during fifteen years, he continued to stay at Romehale. The fourth was brother William of Esseby, still a novice, also an Englishman, quite young. He, by carrying out different duties with praiseworthy endurance, ever sustained by the spirit of Jesus Christ, left us examples of humility and poverty, charity and kindliness, obedience, patience, and every perfection. Now, when brother Gregory, the provincial minister of France, asked him whether he was willing to go to England, he replied that he did not know whether he was willing ; and when the minister expressed

surprise at his answer, brother William at length said that he did not know what he was willing to do, because his will was not his own but the minister's; accordingly, he willed whatever the minister willed him to will. Brother William of Nottingham testified of him that he was most obedient, for when he gave him the choice of choosing for himself a place to stay at, he said that that place pleased him best which it might please him to assign him. And because he was especially endowed with the charm of most engaging graciousness, he enlisted the affection of many seculars for the order. Moreover, he led many worthy souls of different ranks, age, and station into the way of salvation; and, in the case of many, he plainly proved that our dear Lord knows how to work wondrous things and of grasshoppers to conquer giants.

And these were the lay brethren: the first, brother Henry of Ceruise, a Lombard, who, as a reward of his saintliness and great discretion, was afterwards made warden at London, and who, after completing the course of his labours in England, when the number of the brethren had increased, returned to his own country. The second was brother Lawrence, a native of Belvaco, who at the beginning worked indefatigably, according to the ordinance of the rule, and afterwards, returning to St. Francis, he was permitted to see him often and to comfort him with his discourse; indeed, our holy father most generously presented him with his own cloak, and sent him back to England gladdened with his most gracious blessing. And after many labours, through the merits, I think, of this our father, he came to a

haven of peace in London, where now, in unspeakable weariness, he awaits the end of his long labours. The third was brother William of Florence, who, after the reception of the brethren, soon returned to France. The fourth was Melioratus. The fifth was brother James Ultra-Montanus, still a novice.

These nine were charitably taken over to England by the monks of Fécamp, and when they arrived at Canterbury were kindly entertained and made a stay of two days in the priory of the Holy Trinity; and immediately four of them set out for London—namely, brother Richard of Intworth, brother Richard of Devon, brother Henry, and brother Melioratus. But the five others went on to the Priests' Hospital, where they stayed till they had looked out for a place for themselves, for soon afterwards they were given a little room in the scholars' house, where they used to sit day after day as if in confinement. But when the scholars returned home in the evening, they entered the house in which they used to sit and made themselves a fire there and sat by it, and sometimes they put a little pot containing the dregs of ale on the fire, when they wished to drink together, and put a dish in the pot and drank round in order, while some of them said a word of edification; and according to the testimony of one who was a partaker in this noble simplicity, and who worthily joined and shared in their holy poverty, the drink was sometimes so thick that when the dishes were heated, they poured in water and so drank gladly. The same thing, too, happened often at Salisbury, where the brethren drank their sour beer round the fire in the kitchen so merrily and joyously that he thought him-



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SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

(Commenced 1220; finished 1258. The spire belongs to fourteenth century).

self fortunate who could filch it in a friendly way from another.

Brother Martin in his old age, who was stationed at Shrewsbury, used to rejoice that he had done this very thing there when the friars first came to Shrewsbury. In those days the brethren were so careful of contracting debt that they hardly allowed it even for extreme necessities. So it chanced that brother Agnellus, in company with brother Salamon, wanted to hear the accounts of the friars at London—that is, the extent of their expenditure for one quarter; and when he heard that the very moderate entertainment of the friars had proved so expensive, he threw down all the tallies and rolls, and, striking his face, exclaimed: ‘Woe is me!’ and would never again listen to the accounts. . . . In the convent at London, in the time of the minister William, of blessed memory, I have seen the brethren drinking such sour beer that some preferred water and to eat bread, usually known as bran-bread. Moreover, when there was no bread . . . I have for a long time eaten whatever else I could get.

The four brethren whom I mentioned above, on arriving in London, went to the preaching friars [Dominicans], and were kindly received by them; with them they stayed for a fortnight, eating and drinking what they set before them, as the greatest of friends. Afterwards they hired a house in Cornhill, and arranged cells in it, with turves as divisions between the cells. They remained there in their first simplicity till the following summer without a chantry, because they did not yet have the privilege of erecting altars and celebrating divine service in

their own settlements. And immediately before the feast of All Saints, and before the arrival of brother Agnellus in London, brother Richard of Intworth and brother Richard of Devon set out for Oxford, and were there in the same way received with the greatest friendship by the preaching friars; they ate in their refectory and slept in their dormitory, as if they were inmates of their convent, for a week. Afterwards they hired a house in the parish of St. Ebb's, and they stayed there without a chantry till the following summer. . . . Thence brother Richard of Intworth and brother Richard of Devon set out for Northampton, and were received in the hospital there. . . . The first warden at Cambridge was brother Thomas of Spain; the first warden at Lincoln was brother Henry Misericorde, a lay brother. . . . It is worthy of remembrance that in the second year of the administration of brother Peter, fifth provincial minister of England—that is, thirty-two years after the brethren's arrival in England—the brethren then alive in the province of England, in forty-nine settlements, numbered 1,242.

16. RICHARD OF CORNWALL'S EXPEDITION TO GASCONY.

1225.

Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover, ii. 283 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-1235.

In the same year, on the day of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin [Feb. 2], Richard, brother of the king of England, and ten nobles with him, appointed as his attendants, were knighted by the king of England.

And in the following spring Richard was sent by the king to Gascony along with William, earl of Salisbury, Philip d'Albiny, and forty knights; and after a prosperous voyage they all landed safely at Bordeaux. When the archbishop and the citizens had been informed of their arrival, they were honourably received by all. Then in an assembly of the citizens, in presence of the archbishop and the royal messengers, Richard, the king's brother, delivered to the archbishop and all the citizens his brother's letters, wherein the king humbly begged all his faithful subjects in those parts to give his brother a friendly reception, and give him counsel and aid whereby he might be able to recover the lands lost; and all received him gladly, and did homage through him to the king of England. So many knights and men-at-arms belonging to those parts came to him, and, on receiving sufficient pay from him, remained in his service; for the king, before sending him oversea, had given him the earldom of Cornwall and all Poitou, so that he was generally called count of Poitou. So earl Richard, with his uncle William of Salisbury and Philip d'Albiny and a large army, marched through the towns and fortresses of Gascony, and wherever he found opponents who refused to do homage and fealty to the king he besieged their castles and towns and utterly reduced them; for he took the town and castle of La Réole after a long siege, captured the town of St. Macaire and its citadel, besieged the castle of Bergerac and brought its lord back to the king's allegiance. But while he was engaged in delivering fierce and frequent attacks on the castle of La Réole during its long siege,

Louis, king of France, ordered Hugh, count of Marche and other Poitevin barons to march to the castle, capture earl Richard and bring him before him, and raise the siege. The count of Marche therefore, taking with him some barons and armed troops, well equipped, marched to raise the siege; but earl Richard and his followers, warned by scouts of the enemy's approach, prepared an ambush for him, and, despatching part of his army to carry on the siege, he himself, with picked troops, turned into a neighbouring wood and awaited the enemy there; and when they were passing the ambuscade on their way to the siege, earl Richard and his followers rushed out upon them, to the blare of trumpets, brandishing their spears, and after a most stubborn fight put the enemy to flight. Earl Richard hotly pursued them, and, after slaying many of the fugitives, captured the enemy's carts and baggage-train, in which were silver vessels and other booty. Thus in a short time he reduced the whole of Gascony.

17. RISING IN WALES.

1228.

Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover, ii. 349 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216.

1235.

In the same year, in the month of August, the knights and men-at-arms garrisoning Montgomery Castle, on the Welsh border, came out with the people of the district to widen and safeguard a road near the castle from some Welsh robbers who were continually killing travellers in those parts and robbing wayfarers. They therefore marched to the spot

armed with swords, axes, clubs, and other weapons, and began to cut down trees, timber, thick hedges, and shrubs, to make the road wider for travellers. When the Welsh heard of this they arrived on the scene in force, and hotly attacked the enemy, compelling them to retreat within the castle, after some had fallen on both sides; and when the Welsh proceeded to besiege the castle, the garrison at once informed Hubert, justiciar of England, on whom the king had lately bestowed that honour and castle; whereupon the king came with all speed, and compelled the Welsh to raise the siege. Now, the king of England had come with but few troops, but was expecting more, and at length, with a great host, he arrived at the wood we have mentioned, which, as we have said, was very large, extending for about five leagues; but in spite of its size and the difficulty of destroying it, on account of its great thickness, yet, as a result of considerable labour, it was cut down and burnt. From there the king led his army further into the country, and came to a cell belonging to the Cistercians, called Cridia, which, as the king had been informed, was used by the Welsh to secrete their plunder. So at the king's orders the buildings were set on fire, and everything was reduced to ashes. But Hubert, the justiciar, seeing the position was almost impregnable, gained the king's consent to build a castle there; but before the work was completed many on both sides were slain, and the illustrious William de Braose was captured on a foraging raid and taken off a prisoner. . . . Many of the leading men in the royal army were in league with Llewelyn, and merely made a

pretence of their allegiance to the king, the result being that the king was forced into a disgraceful peace on these terms: that the castle, which by this time had at great expense been nearly finished, should be razed to the ground at the king's charges; that Llewelyn should give to the king 3,000 marks as indemnity for his great labour and expense; and that after this conclusion of the treaty they should both withdraw to their own country. Thus, after spending nearly three months in building the castle and wasting an enormous sum of money to no purpose, the king of England had to leave the illustrious William de Braose as Llewelyn's prisoner and return home. And at that time general derision was excited because when the castle was first begun the justiciar called it 'Hubert's Folly,' and so when they saw it razed to the ground after such trouble and expense, everyone said that the justiciar was a prophet—ay, and a good one too.

18. THE POWER OF LLEWELYN-AP-IORWERTH.

1228. From the translation of the Welsh
'Brut-y-Tywysogion,' p. 317 [Rolls].
Probably contemporary.

The ensuing year king Henry, having with him the strength of England, came to Wales, intending to subjugate Llewelyn, son of Iorwerth, and all the Welsh princes, and encamped in the place called Ceri; and on the other side of the wood the Welsh, with Llewelyn, son of Iorwerth, their prince, assembled to oppose the king. And there they attacked their enemies, and fought with them

furiously, making vast slaughter of them. And there young William Braose was taken and wounded, and imprisoned, and for his liberation the castle of Bulth, with the district and a vast sum of money, was given to Llewelyn, son of Iorwerth. And then the king returned to England with shame; only he obtained the homage of the princes who were there, and formed a pacification between them and Llewelyn, son of Iorwerth.

19. FIGHTING IN IRELAND.

1230.

Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover, iii. 4 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-1235.

In the month of July in the same year a certain petty king of Connaught, in Ireland, hearing that the king of England and William Marshal were campaigning overseas, and that the realm of Ireland was practically without troops, collected together a large army from every side in the hope of being able to drive every Englishman out of Ireland. He therefore invaded the territory of the king of England, and pillaging and plundering, burnt all the country round. But when this news reached Geoffry Marsh, the royal justiciar in those parts, he took with him Walter de Lacy and Richard de Burgh and a strong force, and marched out boldly to meet the enemy. He divided his army into three divisions, with Walter de Lacy and Richard de Burgh in command of two of them, while he himself retained command of the third. The two divisions under Walter and Richard he concealed in some

woods by which the enemy had to march, and thus laid an ambuscade for them; but his own third division he posted so as to meet the enemy face to face, and thus provoke them to a pitched battle. At length the enemy came up, and, seeing merely one English division, they charged with all their strength, as if in sure hope of gaining the victory; but the English division feigned flight till such time as the Irish in pursuit of them came past the ambuscade; then the troops in ambush rushed out from concealment, and, rending the air with terrible shouts, charged the enemy in rear and flank, and the division which had previously fled faced about upon the Irish, and inflicted dreadful slaughter upon them: for it is said that the Irish had 20,000 men killed, while their king was captured and kept a prisoner.

20. THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

1231. Translated from Latin of Shuteley's
 ‘Royal Letters,’ cccxxiv.-cccxxvi.
 [Rolls]. (*Roll. Claus.*, 15 Hen. III).

1. The King to the Sheriff of Cambridge, greeting.

You are to know that, whereas in our town of Cambridge, where a great number of students are assembled together, there are many refractory and incorrigible clerks, who refuse to have their offences tried and punished by the chancellor and masters; and whereas there are many law-breakers, and among them some who under clerkly guise lyingly pretend to be what they are not, and following the example of the scholars, will not have their offences brought

to trial ; therefore to repress their presumption and for the peace and quietness of the students, we have of our counsel provided that as often as the aforesaid chancellor and masters shall have made inquiries and discovered among them such refractory clerks and lawbreakers, they shall notify the fact to the bishop, and then the bishop to you ; so that you, taking with you such men as you think necessary, shall at the summons of the bishop proceed personally to Cambridge, and, in accordance with the representations of the said bishop and the statement of the chancellor and masters, arrest these refractory clerks and lawbreakers, and, acting on the advice of the chancellor and masters, either keep them in our prison or have them expelled and removed from Cambridge. Witness the King at Oxford, May 3.

2. The King to the Sheriff of Cambridge, greeting.

Whereas we have heard that many clerks reside at Cambridge, not under the rule and tutorship of any master of the schools, but falsely claim to be scholars when they are not, in order that they may be able by seizing this opportunity to evade their duties in greater security and impunity ; therefore we command you to take with you good and sufficient men from your shire and to proceed to our town of Cambridge, and to have a proclamation made in our name throughout that town to the effect that no clerk reside there without being under the rule and tutorship of some master of the schools ; and if there shall be found any such in that town, they are to leave it within a fortnight of this proclamation being made ; and if

they be found there after that date, they shall be arrested and imprisoned in our prison. Witness as above.

3. The King to the Mayors and Bailiffs of Cambridge, greeting.

You know well that a great number of scholars have flocked to our town of Cambridge, to pursue their studies, from all quarters of our land and from beyond the sea. This affords us the greatest pleasure, for therefrom no small profit accrues to our realm and honour to ourselves; and you especially, in whose midst the students actually reside, should have no small joy and gladness. But we have heard that in letting your lodgings you are so harsh and exorbitant to the scholars who dwell among you that, unless you display more moderation and reason in your dealings with them, they will be compelled to leave our town and, leaving their studies, depart from our land. This we would in no way desire. Therefore we strictly enjoin and command you that in the letting of these lodgings you limit yourselves to the custom of the University and allow these lodgings to be taxed by two masters and two good and sufficient men of your town appointed for this purpose, and to be let in according with their assessment; so conducting yourselves herein that we may not have to use severer measures in case complaints should reach us. Witness as above.

Similar letters sent to the University of Oxford, addressed to the Sheriff of Oxford, the Mayor and Bailiffs

of Oxford, with this difference, that where in the first writ directed to the Sheriff of Cambridge the words are, 'At the summons of the Bishop of Ely,' in this case the words are, 'At the summons of the Chancellor and masters of Oxford'; and where in the writ addressed to the Mayor and the Bailiffs of Cambridge the words are, 'So conducting yourselves herein,' in this case the words are, 'In this and all other matters affecting the said scholars.'

21. FALL OF HUBERT DE BURGH.

1232.

Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover, iii. 31 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-1235.

About the same time [as he dismissed several other ministers], acting on the advice of Peter, bishop of Winchester, the king dismissed from office Hubert de Burgh, chief justiciar of the realm, and on July 29 appointed sir Stephen Segrave in his place. A few days later, in a rage against Hubert, whom he had just dismissed, he demanded an immediate account from him of the revenues paid into the treasury, and of the debts due to him both from his father's reign and in his own. He also demanded a statement as to his domain lands, of which he came into possession on the day of the death of his then justiciar and marshal, William, earl of Pembroke, their holders and occupiers in England, Wales, Ireland, and Poitou; also as to the maintenance or alienation of liberties held by him at that time in forests, warrens, counties and elsewhere; also as to the fifteenth and sixteenth and other revenues payable to his treasury,

at the New Temple in London and elsewhere. [*Here follow many other charges of a like character.*]

Hubert's reply to this was that he held a charter from king John, relieving him from accounting for money received or to be received in his treasury, the king being so well assured of his loyalty that he did not wish to hear him make any accounts. Then his opponent Peter, bishop of Winchester, said that such a charter had no force after king John's death, and he accordingly maintained that the present king was not concerned with a charter of his father's, but could demand an account of the matters we have mentioned. These are some of the lighter matters of which the king demanded an account from Hubert, but there follow some serious charges, whereby Hubert is accused of high treason, which we here give.

The King brought against Hubert the charge that, when he sent special messengers to the duke of Austria, asking for his daughter in marriage, Hubert wrote letters to the duke, to the prejudice of king and realm, dissuading him from giving the king his daughter in marriage. Another charge was that, when the king had gone on an expedition overseas to recover his lost possessions, Hubert dissuaded him from invading Normandy or any other territory that by right belonged to him, the result being that he and his nobles who were with him spent their treasure to no purpose. . . . The king also maintained that Hubert had stolen from his treasury and treacherously handed over to his enemy Llewelyn, prince of Wales, a certain precious jewel which had such power as to make its wearer invincible in battle.

Also he laid to his charge that it was owing to letters sent by him to Llewelyn, prince of Wales, that the illustrious William de Braose had been treacherously hanged as a robber. All these charges, whether true or maliciously false, were suggested to our lord the king by Hubert's rivals, and he was urgent in demanding satisfaction from him, in accordance with the decision of his court. In this extremity, having no other remedy, Hubert asked for delay in order to consider the position, maintaining that the king's charges against him were extremely serious and difficult to answer; and so, when with some difficulty he was granted till the festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (Sept. 14), Hubert, in great alarm, left London for the priory of Merton.

[Hubert was afterwards imprisoned in the Tower. It is here that Matthew Paris, the continuor of Roger's 'Chronicle,' inserts the famous refusal of the smith to put irons on the justiciar, saying: 'Is he not that most faithful and noble Hubert, who so often saved England from foreigners?']

22. ENGLISH DISMISSED FOR POITEVINS.

1233.

Translated from Latin of Roger of
Wendover, iii. 47 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-
1235.

In the year of our Lord 1233 Henry, king of England, in the seventeenth year of his reign, held his Christmas court at Worcester, and there, it is said, on the advice of Peter, bishop of Winchester, he dismissed all his English-born ministers from their offices and put Poitevin foreigners in their place. He also dismissed sir William de Rodune,

who acted at court for Richard, the grand marshal, and Richard was exceedingly indignant on this account. Acting on the same advice, the king first dismissed Walter, bishop of Carlisle, from the treasurership and then took from him a hundred pounds of silver, as well as insultingly depriving him of certain wardships which he had confirmed to him by charter for his lifetime. All his councillors, bishops and earls alike, barons and nobles of his realm, he dismissed in a hurry, no longer trusting to any save the bishop we have mentioned and his son Peter of Rivaux, so much so that, after driving out the keepers of his castles throughout England, the king entrusted them all to the charge of this Peter. Then, in order to get a better hold on the king's favour, Peter, bishop of Winchester, associated with himself the pliant Stephen Segrave and Robert Passelewe, who was deputy-treasurer under Peter of Rivaux; and thus it came about that the king managed the business of the realm entirely at these men's advice and counsel. And he invited over Poitevins and Bretons from oversea—2,000 of them came horsed and armed, knights and men-at-arms—whom he kept in his service, giving them the castles of the realm to garrison, and they oppressed native-born Englishmen, nobles too, calling them traitors and actually accusing them at court of treason; and the simple king believed their lies, and gave them the charge of counties and baronies, and the wardship of noble youths and maidens. These they sorely degraded by ignoble marriages. The king also entrusted to them the care of his treasury, and the administration of the law and justice of the country.

But why say more? Judgment was entrusted to

the unjust, laws to the lawless, peace to the quarrelsome, justice to wrongdoers; and when the nobles of the realm complained to the king about the wrongs they had to suffer, the bishop intervened, and there was none to do them justice.

23. RICHARD MARSHAL AND THE KING.

1233.

Translated from Latin of Roger of
Wendover, iii. 48 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216.
1235.

When earl Richard, marshal of the realm, saw high and low oppressed by these and similar wrongs, and the laws of the realm in utter decay, he was moved by his zeal for justice, and, taking certain other great nobles with him, he boldly came into the king's presence and rebuked him in the hearing of many for having listened to bad counsel and for having invited Poitevin foreigners to oppress the realm and his native-born subjects and pervert their laws and liberties. He therefore humbly asked the king to correct such excesses forthwith, seeing that they threatened the overthrow of his throne and kingdom; moreover, he stated that, if the king put off seeing to these matters, he himself and the rest of the magnates of the realm would withdraw from his counsels so long as he consorted with the aliens. Peter, bishop of Winchester, in reply to this, said that our lord the king was at liberty to invite any foreigners he pleased to the defence of his realm and crown—ay, and as many and such men as would be able to reduce his haughty and rebellious subjects to their due obedience. But the earl marshal and the

rest of the magnates withdrew in alarm from the court, making sure promise to one another that they would strive for this cause, which concerned them all, as long as body and soul held together.

24. THE IRISH CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE MARSHAL.

1234. Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover, iii. 72 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-1235.

About this time Peter, bishop of Winchester, his son, Peter of Rivaux, and other of the king's evil counsellors, finding themselves everywhere defeated by the earl marshal, and seeing with grief their towns utterly burnt down, decided on overcoming by treachery an enemy they could not defeat by arms. Therefore, cheated in their hopes, and, among other scores, seeing that great numbers of Poitevins had been slain on the Welsh marshes, they drew up letters of unparalleled treachery, and, after compelling the king to affix his seal to them, although he was absolutely ignorant of their contents, they too set their own seals to them to the number of eleven, and sent this bloody document across to Ireland. Now, this treacherous letter was sent to the leading men in Ireland—namely, to Maurice FitzGerald, who acted as royal justiciar there, to Walter and Hugh de Lacy, Richard de Burgh, Geoffrey Marsh, and other faithless allies of the marshal. And the villainous purport of these letters was as follows: In the first place, the counsellors we have named informed these magnates that Richard, formerly marshal of the king

of England, had, by a judgment of the court for open treachery, been banished the realm of England and his possessions, that his villages and houses had been burnt, his parks and fruit-trees cut down, his ponds and fisheries destroyed, and, worst of all, that he had been for ever disinherited; and, although he had been thus deprived of all his property, he was still annoying the king and wickedly persevering in his plots against him. 'Wherefore, we order you, as loyal and faithful subjects of our lord the king, in case he shall come to Ireland, to use your best efforts to take him, alive or dead, and bring him before the king; and, if you shall so do, all of his inheritance and possessions in Ireland, which are now in the gift of our lord the king, shall be granted to you, to be divided among you and to have as hereditary possessions. For the faithful fulfilment of this promise, we, by whose counsel the king and kingdom are governed, make ourselves responsible, if you shall bring this matter to a satisfactory issue. Farewell.'

When, therefore, the Irish nobles heard the contents of the letters, covetousness overcame the hearts of every one of them, and, conspiring together, they sent secret messengers with letters to the king's counsellors, secretly informing them that, if the promise contained in the letters were confirmed to them by royal charter, they would do their best to bring the matter to a satisfactory issue. Thereupon these counsellors, by royal warrant, made a grant to those nobles of all the marshal's rights in Ireland, to be divided among them, setting forth the several places, possessions, and rights that each was to have. So when at length this abominable document reached these foul

traitors in Ireland, they at once made a confederacy, and swore to carry out the odious business at the first opportunity; and, conspiring together to cut off an innocent man, they collected a great army, and invading the earl marshal's lands, they took some of his castles and divided the booty and spoil among them.

25. THE KING DISMISSES THE POITEVINS.

1234.

Translated from Latin of Roger of Wendover, iii. 78 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1216-1235.

On the fourth Sunday in Lent, which fell on April 9, the king, earls, barons, the recently consecrated archbishop, and his suffragan bishops, met at Westminster to take proper measures for settling the disturbances in the kingdom. The archbishop, with the bishops and other prelates there present, came to the king and gave him the advice of himself and the bishops concerning the desolation of the realm and its imminent danger. . . . He also boldly told the king to his face that, unless he quickly gave up the error of his ways and came to a peaceful arrangement with his subjects, he himself and all the prelates there present would straightway excommunicate him and all others who disturbed the peace and broke up harmony. The king turned a pious ear to the prelates' advice, and humbly replied that he would entirely yield to their counsels; and consequently, a few days later, perceiving his errors, he penitently ordered Peter, bishop of Winchester, to retire to his bishopric, and concern himself

with the care of souls and no longer meddle with affairs of state. He gave strict orders, also, to Peter of Rivaux, to whose will and pleasure England was entirely subjected, to surrender him his castles, give an account of the treasury, and leave the court immediately; and he swore, moreover, that, had he not been beneficed and one of the clergy, he would have had both his eyes plucked out. Moreover, he dismissed all the Poitevins, not only from the court, but also from the command of castles, and sent them back to their own country, with orders to see his face no more. And then the king, who was extremely anxious for peace, sent Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops of Chester and Rochester, to Llewelyn in Wales and to Richard, earl marshal, to treat with them as to peace.

26. ENGLAND RUINED BY PAPAL EXTORTION.

1237. Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iii. 389 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

At this time the scanty fire of the faith began to wax exceeding cold, so that, reduced to mere ashes, it hardly seemed to have a spark left. For now simony was practised unblushingly, and usurers openly, on various pleas, extorted money without shame from the people and smaller folk. Charity ceased; the liberty of the Church faded away; religion, now of no account, was trampled under foot. . . . Every day base illiterate individuals, armed with Roman bulls, with threats ever on their lips, had no fear of violating the privileges of our holy prede-

cessors and of wresting to their own use the revenues assigned by our pious forefathers to the sustenance of the religious, the support of the poor, and the entertainment of strangers; for they thundered out their excommunications, and straightway took by force what they demanded. But if the victims of their wrongdoing and robbery appealed or claimed privilege, they at once had them suspended and excommunicated by another bishop, under a papal writ. And so they robbed simple men, not by prayers or canon rule, but by despotic extortion, even as the poet says:

‘Armato supplicat ense potens.’

So it came to pass that where nobles and bountiful clerks, the guardians and champions of the churches, were wont to dignify the whole countryside by their wealth, to entertain travellers and help the poor, there did abandoned creatures, devoid of morals but replete with cunning, proctors and farmers of the Romans, scrape together everything of value and utility in the place and sent it far away oversea to their masters, who live in luxury on the patrimony of the Lord crucified and feed their pride at others' cost.

27. THE MODERATION OF THE LEGATE OTHO.

1237.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iii. 403 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

Now, the lord Otho, the legate, of whom we have spoken before, by his wise and moderate behaviour,

and by his general rejection of the very valuable gifts offered to him—quite contrary to the usual practice of the Romans—allayed the indignation of all classes in the kingdom, clergy and gentry alike; indeed, his success in this, the result of his careful conduct, was a great surprise to many.

For, in the first place, he pacified certain magnates who were at variance with him, owing to some secret reason for enmity, and brought them into hearty accord with the kiss of peace. Among these were the lord Peter, bishop of Winchester; the lord Hubert, earl of Kent; Gilbert Bassett; Stephen Segrave; Richard Seward; and very many others who had long been quarrelling with him. And this enmity had, I might say, come into disastrous evidence at a tournament held at Blith, at the beginning of Lent in this very same year, when an encounter took place between champions of the south and of the north. But at last the men of the south gained the day, and some great men on the other side were captured; and then it was no case of jousting, but real warfare. Now, the stanchest fighter of them all was earl Bigod. And after the lord legate had with great difficulty succeeded in quieting them, he wrote to all the bishops in England, bidding them all meet in London, at St. Paul's, on the octave of St. Martin [Nov. 11], to hear read the decree of the lord pope on the plenary power granted to him as legate, and there to consider the reform of the English Church and to hold a council in his presence.

28. THE MARRIAGE OF SIMON DE MONTFORT

1238. Translated from Latin of Matthew
 Paris, iii. 470, 475 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235
 1259.

In the year of our Lord 1238, the twenty-second year of the reign of king Henry III., the king held his court in London, at Westminster, and there on the morrow of the feast of Epiphany, a Thursday, Simon de Montfort solemnly married Eleanor, daughter of king John, sister of king Henry III., and widow of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. The marriage was solemnized and mass celebrated by Walter, chaplain of the royal chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster, in the king's small private chapel, which is in a corner of his chamber. The bride was given away by the king himself to the said Simon, earl of Leicester, who took her gratefully by reason of the unselfish love he bore her, her beauty, the distinguished honours that fell to her, and the lady's exalted royal lineage, for she was the legitimate daughter of a king and queen, as well as the sister of a king, an empress and a queen; the children of so noble a lady could not but be of royal stock. A dispensation, too, for the marriage was granted by the lord pope, as the subsequent narrative will show. . . .

But when earl Richard heard that this marriage had been secretly solemnized without his knowledge, and without the consent of the magnates of the realm, he was quite rightly moved to the bitterest indignation, especially since the king had repeatedly sworn to do nothing of any importance except on

the advice of his natural lieges, and especially of the earl. Forthwith, therefore, he flies to arms and attacks the king with warnings and threats, bringing against him the serious imputation and charge that he was acting on the advice of aliens, whom he had expressly sworn to remove from about his person, and had thus mismanaged high affairs of state. Not only had he removed others from about him, and lent a willing ear to Simon de Montfort and John earl of Lincoln, but they had brought about underhand matches clean against the will of the nobles. When earl Richard took up arms he was joined by earl Gilbert Marshal and all the earls and barons of England, together with the citizens and general populace. Indeed, there was a most steadfast hope at that time that earl Richard would himself prove the liberator of the land from the wretched slavery inflicted upon it by the Romans and other aliens as well, and everyone, from boys to old men, heaped constant blessings on his head. The king no longer had any supporters, save only Hubert, earl of Kent, and there was no fear that he would act undesirably, both because he had taken oath never again to bear arms and on account of his age and his discretion, which had been proved by many trials. When the king recognized this he felt and showed great alarm, for he sent and asked the nobles of the realm, one by one, in exact terms, whether he could reckon on the support of this one or that in the present crisis. They all replied, and especially the citizens of London, with the common answer that earl Richard's designs were calculated to redound to their honour and the good of the realm, and that

therefore they would put no obstacles in the way of those designs, even although the king himself should not fall in with his wholesome counsel.

29. THE KING'S QUARREL WITH GILBERT MARSHAL.

1239. Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iii, 523 [Rolls]. *Flo* 1235-
1259.

Now, when the king came to his royal palace for dinner, Gilbert earl marshal, with his followers, came to the door to go in; but when he came up to the door the royal porters and chamberlains roughly forbade the earl to enter, despite his intention, and rudely, with sticks instead of wands in their hands, repulsed his retinue from the banquet. When the earl saw this he had no doubt that some whisperer had sown discord between his lord the king and himself, and that this had been done by the king's orders; so he dissembled his feelings and returned to his lodging in the town. And by a trumpet invitation he bade come and dine at his table not only his own followers, but as many as wished, in order that no cloud should mar so great a festival. But on the morrow he sent men of rank to the king and asked him why he had so deeply and unjustly wronged him, a man of such noble birth and his loyal servant, on such a day; and he maintained that he would stand his trial and clear himself in every respect against all such as had basely stirred up enmity between men of such illustrious rank. To these messengers my lord the king angrily replied:



A HOUSEHOLD DINING, MEDIEVAL LONDON.
(From an old MS.)

‘ Whence has earl Gilbert got his horns? Whence comes it that he raises his heel with threats against me, against whom it is hard for him to kick? His brother, earl Richard, a bloody traitor and a rebel against me and my realm, I captured in Ireland waging deadly war against me; him I justly disinherited and kept wounded in prison, till by God’s vengeance he died. And to this earl Gilbert, at the importunate entreaty of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, I granted his inheritance—not that he deserved it, and although I wished to keep it from him.’

When the earl heard this he was greatly alarmed, and withdrew to the north, for he had now felt the king’s open displeasure; but neither he nor his brother Walter ever afterwards loved the king with real affection as before; nor did they enjoy good fortune and prosperity.

30. EDMUND RICH AND THE PAPAL EXTORTION.

1240.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv. 31 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

And about this season it was current gossip that a most iniquitous agreement was entered into between the lord pope and the Romans, to the effect that all vacant benefices in England, especially those held by regulars, should be assigned to the sons or relations of the Romans at their goodwill and pleasure, always, however, subject to the condition that they should all take up arms against the emperor, and as far as in them lay, hurl him forthwith from his imperial

height, thus acting up to the reputation of their ancient powers. Accordingly, a few days later the lord pope sent his sacred instructions to Edmund, lord archbishop of Canterbury, and to the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury to provide for 300 Romans in the first benefices that fell vacant; they were to understand that they were suspended from appointing to benefices until suitable provision had been made for that number. This filled the hearts of all who heard it with great amazement, and it was feared that he who ventured on such a course would be overwhelmed in the depths of despair.

And at this same time Edmund, lord archbishop of Canterbury, who of his own accord, albeit despite his own desire, had submitted to the abominable extortion of which we have spoken by his payment of 800 marks to the pope, seeing the Church of England being daily more and more trampled on and spoiled of its temporal possessions and robbed of its liberties, was overwhelmed with weariness, in that he was still living and saw such evil upon the earth; and when he upbraided the king for granting permission he got no satisfaction. So, provoked by his various wrongs, he went into exile in France, and with his downcast household took up his abode at Pontigny, where his predecessor, the blessed Thomas, had lived in exile, and spent all his time in prayers and fasting.

31. DEATH OF EDMUND RICH.

1240.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv. 72 [Rolls]. *Flor* 1235-
1259.

Meanwhile Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, who had gone of his own accord into exile in foreign parts, wasted away in body and mind. With deep sighs he often used to say: 'How much better would it be to die than to behold the evils of our country and of the saints upon the earth!'

Worn out, therefore, by fasting and racked with grief, his body exhausted, shrunk, and weakened, he fell seriously ill. Acting upon his doctor's advice, he had himself carried to Soissy for the benefit of the better air. There, after suffering for some little time from dysentery, he was freed from the bondage of the flesh, and, bidding farewell to a wicked generation, he went the way of all flesh. His spirit happily exchanged the exile of this world for the heavenly country; for in truth he went through this earthly pilgrimage but as an exile, and in body alone, and he wearied under the provocation of the troubles that met him on every side. The rebels, too, whom he brought to trial and excommunicated, the legate did not fail wantonly and disrespectfully to absolve, while he rashly and wickedly presumed on the king's consent or permission, and interfered in many other matters in which he had no concern, to the prejudice of the archbishop and primate of all England.

32. BONIFACE OF SAVOY AND THE VACANT SEE OF CANTERBURY.

1241.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv 103 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

About that same time, too, the monks of Canterbury, who had been sent to Rome on behalf of the convent, to obtain absolution from the archbishop's terrible visitation upon them, returned from there in the month of April. They had obtained absolution with reservations, the abbot and archdeacon of S. Albans and the prior of Dunstable being nominated to settle the matter. But their old persecutor, Simon Langton, archdeacon of Canterbury, opposed this settlement by an immediate appeal, for he steadfastly maintained that the letters of absolution had been wickedly obtained by false insinuations and suppression of the truth. But those among them who had faithfully promised the king that they would choose Boniface as their archbishop, in accordance with the king's own most earnest entreaty, complained bitterly to the king of the wrong and deliberate malice wrought them by Simon, the archdeacon. Accordingly the king, taking the part of the monks, and reckoning on their promise to elect Boniface, issued the most terrible threats against the archdeacon, saying that if he did not immediately desist from his rash intentions he should thoroughly and effectively feel the royal anger. And when the archdeacon saw this he said no more but gave up his former intentions, for he knew well that the pope would in no way come into collision with the king,

and recognized his own reluctance to undertake a journey over the Alps at his time of life. So the monks of Canterbury, finding themselves in favour with the king and the pope in turn, and seeing that these granted each other's requests, prayed for the favour of the Holy Spirit and of the king, and elected as their spiritual pastor Boniface, bishop elect of Bellay, a man

<p>*who was unknown to them, and, as was currently affirmed, in knowledge, morals, and age, fell below the standard set for his high office by his predecessors in the see of Canterbury.</p>	<p>of lofty stature, handsome presence, and uncle of the Lady Eleanor, the illustrious Queen of England, but absolutely unknown to the aforesaid monks.</p>
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But they were influenced by the fact that, if they had elected anyone else, the king would have discovered some bar, and would have censured and quashed the election; and the king was in the highest favour with the pope.

Now, the king being extremely desirous of advancing the said Boniface, and of doing him honour, in case the lord pope should reject him as unworthy of his great office, gave orders—that his worth and fitness should appear the greater—for a letter of recommendation to be drawn up, in which the character of the said Boniface was extravagantly recommended; and to this document he appended the royal seal, in

The parallel columns here and below are the readings of different manuscripts. The less violent wording represents, evidently, the author's later judgment, or possibly tact.

evidence of its truthfulness. This letter he sent to the bishops and abbots, with orders, or, at any rate, with a stringent request, that they too should affix their seals in the same way, and thus give reliable support to this statement of the king's.

Many, therefore, afraid to transgress the Lord's commandment not to bear false witness, stoutly refused. However, the bishops and some abbots, thoroughly frightened and cowed by the royal threats, affixed their seals thereto, the very pledges and witness of their faith; for they forgot the fear of God and paid reverence to man rather than to God. And so some monks of Canterbury, repenting of their deed, recognized their wretched plight, and in order to do perpetual penance, left their church and took refuge with the Carthusians.

But many, refusing to violate their conscience, absolutely declined to obey him. However, large numbers of the higher clergy, bishops and abbots, bore witness and voluntarily affixed their seals to his letter, and with pleasure received Boniface as their superior. But although he was of the noblest descent and a great friend of the princes of both realms, and himself of handsome presence and sufficient qualifications, yet the monks of Canterbury, who had been constrained by the king's entreaties, greatly regretted that they had yielded herein to the royal will.

33. PARLIAMENT REFUSES SUBSIDIES FOR THE POITOU CAMPAIGN.

1242.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv. 181 [Rolls]. *ibid.* 1235-
1250.

Just before the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin [February 2] an assembly of the nobility of all England, prelates, earls, and barons, was held by the king's command in London. And because they had heard that the king had summoned them so urgently, and had so often harassed them in this way on tricky pretexts, they swore to each other and came to a close agreement, to be broken only under penalty of anathema, that not one of them in the council should agree on any account to the king's proposed extortion. For they were all fully aware now that the count de la Marche was urgently inviting the king to pass oversea with all the treasure he could scrape together, and, seeing that he cared nothing for the military strength of the English army, would set little store by the knighthood, strength, and loyalty of the kingdom; for he looked upon the king merely as a huckster, his only concern being to get his money. So the English were naturally indignant at the count and all his Poitevins, and no longer looked with favour on a king who agreed to such things without taking the advice of his own nobles. Accordingly, when the king made known to them the fixed purpose of his heart in the matter of crossing oversea and accepting the invitation of the count de la Marche, and asked them for a subsidy for the reasons he put forward, the magnates

replied with great bitterness of heart that these projects of his had been rashly undertaken, and that these shameless demands were simply brazen, so often had he harassed and beggared his loyal subjects by regarding them as the natural victims of his extortions, just as if they were the vilest slaves, so often had he exacted huge sums of money from them and spent it to no advantage. They therefore withstood the king to his face, and refused to be robbed of their money any longer in this purposeless manner. So the king, taking to the crafty tricks of the Romans, bade them wait till the next day to hear his pleasure on this and other matters. And on the next day he summoned them one by one to his private chamber, like a priest calling penitents to confession. So those whom he could not weaken when they were all together he very cunningly tried to weaken individually, one at a time, by means of his private representations ; for he asked them for a money grant in these words : ‘ See, the grant given me by way of subsidy by such an abbot, and by such another.’ And he held out a roll whereon he showed written down such and such an amount that this or that abbot or prior promised to give, when, as a matter of fact, not one of them had given assent, or had any knowledge of it whatever. So, by such forgeries as these and verbal snares, the king warily caught a good many. However, many stood out, and absolutely refused to go back on the answer made in common, as they had sworn to do. To them the king angrily exclaimed : ‘ Am I to be perjured ? I have sworn by an oath I dare not break to cross the sea and demand in full force my rights from the

king of France; and this I cannot make good without unstinted treasure, which must come from your liberal contribution.' But neither by these words nor by any other could he entrap some of them, although, as I said before, he summoned each of them individually to his presence.

But some few with whom he was more intimate he summoned a second time, and thus addressed them: 'What bad example is this you are setting to others? You, who are brave earls and barons and knights, should not waver, even if others, prelates for instance, are afraid. You ought to demand back the kingdom's rightful claims more eagerly than others and try the fortune of war in might against those who wrong us. The right we have to call upon our greater nobles, knowing well that they will follow us, is held to strengthen and support our position. Take Wales, the scene of our late triumph, as an instance of past success leading to success in the future. How, then, will you have the heart to leave me, your lord, without a penny to my own resources when I am engaged upon so difficult a piece of state business, since I shall be bound to perform my promise to cross the sea, being pledged by the most solemn oath?'

And when this came to the knowledge of all the nobles they made the following reply: 'Words cannot express our amazement at the gulf which has swallowed up the countless wealth which you, our lord and king, have wrung from various wardships of great nobles, from numerous escheats, from repeated extortions either from vacant livings or nobles' lands, and from such valuable gifts as

amazed the hearts of those who heard of them; and yet all of this has never brought the slightest benefit to the realm. Moreover, you have lately invited to this realm certain legates or acting legates, who, like late gleaners in the vintage, have collected the little money that remained. Also all the magnates of England are greatly surprised that without their advice or assent, in reliance upon the unreliable, you have entered upon so difficult and dangerous an undertaking, and that, despising the goodwill of your natural subjects, you expose yourself to the chances of fickle fortune. To your soul's peril and the tarnishing of your good name you are dishonourably and shamefully breaking the truce between the king of France and yourself, which you swore on your soul to keep unbroken and inviolate till the term assigned on your behalf by your illustrious brother earl Richard and earl Roger Bigod.' . . . When the king heard this, he broke out into passionate anger, and called upon the saints to witness his oath that no fears should call him back, and that no wordy entanglement should prevent or keep him from embarking within a week of Easter, and trying, undaunted, the fortune of war oversea against the French. So was Parliament dissolved and both sides nursed fixed, if secret, anger in their hearts.

34. THE BATTLE OF TAILLEBOURG.

1242.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv. 209 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

In those days the king of England was with his army in the meadows by the river Charente, near

the castle of Tonnaye. And there he knighted two of his brothers, sons of the count de la Marche. And he gave them, one five hundred marks and the other six hundred, payable on his treasury every year till he should have provided them with a sure source of wealth of equal value in lands and revenues. And retreating from there with his army, he arrived at the meadows opposite the town of Taillebourg, which is situated on the aforesaid river Charente. And there he stayed for six days.

Meanwhile the French king, greatly encouraged by the surrender of many castles and their custodians, directed his march on the city of Taillebourg. This is an exceeding fine city, in the midst of most fruitful vineyards, with a very pleasant river running through delightful meadows, crossed by an excellent bridge; the river, the Charente, is very deep and unfordable. Now, when the French king approached the city, the citizens, lacking both the will and the power to resist him in arms, followed a more sensible course; they went out peacefully to meet him, and handed over to him themselves and their city, their possessions and their liberties without reserve. The king accordingly received them forthwith into his favour and protection. He came therefore at once to the city and took up his quarters there, together with his chief nobles, while the rest of the army pitched their tents in the meadow outside the town. And when on the morrow, the Sunday next before the feast of St. Mary Magdalene [July 20] the king of the French had made up his mind to cross the bridge and march with his army into lower Poitou, the news was brought to the king of Eng-



THE BATTLE OF TAILLEBOURG.
(After a picture by Delacroix at Versailles)

land and his nobles, of whom, indeed, the leader and chief was the count de la Marche. By his advice the king of England got his troops in marching order during the night, and came quickly with his army to the meadow to which the bridge leads; there he pitched his camp, his quarters thus being over against the city, so that the two armies were in sight of one another. Now, in the army of the king of England there were at that time sixteen hundred knights and twenty thousand infantry, together with seven hundred archers, of whom only fourscore were English. And so there was a king on either side of the river. Now, when day broke our English saw the French king's oriflamme and their banners and standards and a host of tents on the other side of the river, like a great and populous city. And when the king of England, expecting of course to be attacked, was ready to meet the French at the sword's point, and some of the English were guarding the passage of the bridge, he said to the count de la Marche: 'My lord count and father, where is now your promise? For you promised us often and often by many messengers while we were still in England—ay, and you confirmed it, moreover, by your letter patent—that, when need should be, you would provide us with enough troops to resist readily and without fear the progress of the French king; money was all that we were to trouble about.' The count replied: 'I never did so.' Then earl Richard rejoined: 'Ah, but you did; I still have with me here in the field the letter patent you wrote about it.' But the count de la Marche replied: Such a letter was never signed, no, nor drawn up,

by me.' Then said the king in amazement: 'What is this I hear you say, father? Have you not often sent to me, and by messengers and letters patent urged me most insistently to come here, and found fault with my delay? Where are your promises?' With a terrible oath the count de la Marche replied: 'I never did this; put it down to your mother, my wife.' And again he broke into an oath and said: 'By God's throat she has wrought these schemes without my knowledge!' Now, when earl Richard heard all this, he put off his armour, and taking a staff in his hand, he crossed the bridge to discuss a peace or truce. For the king of England was evidently in danger of being captured. It was a Sunday, and when he reached the army he was received by the French most honourably, and was proclaimed by many of them their deliverer, because by arranging peace in the Holy Land he had set them free. And on coming into the presence of the king of France he was addressed with respect. When, however, he had laid his desire for obtaining a truce before the king, it was only with difficulty that he obtained a truce till the next day; and this he secured partly because he was popular with the French on account of the aforesaid peace concluded in the Holy Land, partly because he was related to the king of France, and partly because it was Sunday.

When the earl was going away the king saluted him with these words: 'My lord earl, my lord earl, I have granted you a truce for this day and the ensuing night, that you may in the meantime consider with yourselves what is the best thing for

you to do for the future. For the night brings counsel.' The earl replied : ' That is why I asked for the truce, which I have obtained.' When he came back to the king, he whispered secretly in his ear : ' Quick, quick ! let us get away from here ; we are in danger of being captured.' Then they took a hasty meal, for it was noon ; and when the sun had passed the meridian, every man saw to getting his baggage together. Later in the evening, when it began to grow dark, the king of England, who had now had some experience in the loyalty, or rather treachery, of the Poitevins, made a disgraceful retreat, and in his haste did not spare spur. He was followed by the whole army, with no slight risk to horses and men, for many of the latter had had no food, and the horses were fatigued and useless. The king, mounted on a very fast horse, did not draw rein till he reached Saintes.

35. MASTER MARTIN COMES TO ENGLAND.

1244.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv. 284 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

About the same time the new pope sent to England a new extortioner, Master Martin, who brought with him a papal certificate, and had power to excommunicate, suspend and punish in divers ways those who opposed his goodwill and pleasure. Fortified with this authority, he suspended the prelates of England from appointing to benefices till the pope's wishes had been gratified, for the pope demanded revenues for the use of his own clergy

and relations. However, Master Martin thought it beneath him to take any revenue not worth thirty marks or more, for fear that so great a man should appear to be collecting trifles. So he began to make imperious demands and exactions from the prelates, especially from those belonging to monasteries, in the shape of gifts, preferably desirable palfreys. He used to send letters to such an abbot or prior, with strict instructions to send him horses fit for the lord pope's special clerk to sit upon. Those who withstood him and offered excuses and even good reasons for refusing, as did the abbot of Malmesbury and the prior of Merton, he severely punished by suspension till they had given complete satisfaction. He was most careful, too, to get wind of vacant livings and prebends, in order to offer them to the capacious maw of papal destitution. When, for instance, the richest prebend of Salisbury, usually held by the precentor, was vacant, he at once laid his greedy hands upon it, against the bishop's wish and to the great grief of him and the whole chapter, and, at the pope's commands, gave it to some very young relative of his, causing thereby general bitterness and amazement. Indeed, many believed and hoped that the Roman Curia, after its manifold scourging at God's hand, would now put a curb to its avarice.

36. LANDOWNERS IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

1244.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv. 288 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

About that time the king of France summoned to Paris all those who lived and held land oversea

in England, and thus addressed them: 'Whosoever lives in my realm and holds estates in England must, inasmuch as no man can properly serve two masters, either cleave to me or adhere for good to the king of England.' Accordingly some who had estates and revenues in England gave them up and kept to their possessions in France, while others did the contrary. When the king of England was informed of this he ordered that all Frenchmen, especially Normans, should be dispossessed of their estates in England. Therefore the king of France held that the king of England had broken the truce between them, because he had not given those who were to be deprived of their lands in one country or the other the option of going over voluntarily to which king they chose, as he himself had done. But because he had been greatly weakened in health since his return from Poitou, he had no wish to bring about a quarrel, but rather went out of his way to restrain the vehement complaints of the Normans, and their hot-headed, eager desire to attack the king of England.

37. THE KING COMPLAINS TO THE POPE OF HIS EXACTIONS.

1244.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv. 314 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

The king, aroused by these wrongs, and provoked by the manifold avarice of the Romans, wrote to the lord pope as follows:

'To the most holy father in Christ, the lord

Innocent, by the grace of God supreme pontiff, Henry by the same grace king of England, etc., greeting and kisses of his blessed feet.

The more the son submits to the father's will and the more readily and loyally he is prepared to do his bidding, the more does he deserve his father's protection and to reap the reward of his filial devotion and service. Since, then, during the whole of our reign we have given ourselves and our realm wholly into your paternal hands and bidding, albeit we have in some affairs touching ourselves and our realm usually found in you a father's anxiety and favour, yet in some of the provisions granted by you to the clerks of England and other countries we feel that ourselves and our realm have been greatly burdened and oppressed. For the churches of England have been in so many cases charged with these burdensome provisions, that not only are patrons and those whose privilege it is to confer ecclesiastical benefices deprived of their rights, but even in consequence thereof many works of charity fall to the ground; for those benefactions which are usually bestowed in charity on religious houses for their support, and nearly all others, too, are exhausted by your provisions. Since, therefore, the Apostolic See ought to grant the requests of its petitioners only if others are not harmed thereby, we have thought it right to beseech your fatherly grace that it may please your holiness to refrain from granting such provisions or stop them for at least a time. Meanwhile we entreat your fatherly goodness to be pleased to protect as carefully as a father should our rights and liberties, which you can consider to

be really our own and none other's, and to preserve them whole and sound, and not allow them to be disturbed in any way by the suggestions of any at your court. And may your holiness not be angry with us if in some matters we have opposed the tenour of your commands, for we have been driven thereto by clamorous complainants, as it is our duty to fail none in their just rights, but to do full justice to every man in virtue of the high and kingly office granted us by God.'

38. THE KING'S DEBTS: LONDONERS MUST PAY.

1244.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv. 395 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

Now, on the morrow of All Souls' [November 3], when the king once more urgently demanded a money subsidy from the assembled magnates of England, whom he had so often injured and deceived, they refused him to his face. For the king was proposing to lead a numerous army against the Welsh. Moreover, the king was so indebted to foreign merchants, vintners, and others, for wax and other necessities of life, that he could scarcely appear in public for the urgent clamour of his creditors. From which it was quite clear that he had been shamefully harassed and entangled by the guileful and grievous snares of foreigners, who were seeking merely their own profit. So the king, thirstily agape for money, without consulting the whole realm, or, at any rate, his own natural subjects,

for a light cause and for a reasonable cause,
 made-up pretext as he and his agents
 shamelessly extorted let it be understood,
 obtained

fifteen hundred marks from the citizens of London.

For, according to the king's party, they had received again a certain fellow-citizen, Walter Bukerel by name, who twenty years previously had been justly expelled from the city and been long in exile. But the Londoners denied this, and said that his outlawry had been remitted by the entreaties and gifts his brother Andrew had made to the king, and that, after being pardoned by the king's own wish and command, he had been admitted as a citizen, as the royal rolls showed. An immediate answer was made to this on the king's behalf, to the effect that at that time the king was young, impressionable, and easily led; besides, he was still a minor, and therefore what he had then granted was invalid. But this evidently redounded to the disgrace of his guardians. However, the decision stood on no grounds of reason, but solely of the king's will; and the citizens were compelled to pay the aforementioned sum to be thrown away on foreigners.

39. ENGLISH PORTS GUARDED TO KEEP OUT PAPAL LETTERS.

1245.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
 Paris, iv. 417 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
 1259.

Under urgent necessity, therefore, orders were given at this time by some of the higher nobility,

* See p. 60.

who grieved for the manifold oppression of the realm, that the ports should be guarded, and that papal letters, which were being brought in every day to extort money, should be seized. Now, it chanced at that time that a papal messenger, charged with such sealed letters from the pope, had landed at Dover. The guardian at that port and governor of the town immediately arrested him, and, after taking from him all those letters, which contained many abominable statements on the various devices for extorting money, had him imprisoned in Dover Castle. When Master Martin heard this, he came to the king to lodge a complaint thereon; and the king, denying his responsibility in the matter, ordered the messenger to be released, and, to the ruin of the realm and to his own dishonour, he had the letters taken by force from the governor of Dover and quietly presented to Master Martin, for him to rejoice at pleasure in the effects produced by some of them.

40. MASTER MARTIN HAS TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

1245.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv. 420 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

On the morrow of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul [June 30] . . . Fulk Fitzwarin was sent on behalf of the community of the realm to Master Martin, who was then living in London at the New Temple, and Fulk, frowning on him, thus addressed him: 'Begone, and leave England at once.' Martin replied: 'Who bids me do so? Is it you, on your

own authority?' Fulk answered: 'I am the mouth-piece of all those who lately appeared in arms at Luton and Dunstable; it is they who bid you do this. And if you will listen to good advice, do not delay more than two days, lest you and all your people be torn to pieces.' So when Fulk went away in anger, after enforcing his threats with a terrible oath, Martin in alarm and terror went straight to our lord the king and said to him: 'My lord, this is what I have just heard. Is this done on your authority, or by the presumption of your followers?' The king answered: 'I am not responsible for this; but my barons can scarce be kept from revolting against me, because I have so long allowed you to practise on them in my realm robbery and wrong that pass all bounds; and I could hardly restrain them in their rage from rushing upon you and tearing you limb from limb.' Martin replied humbly in frightened tones: 'Then I crave, for the love of God and out of respect for our lord the pope, free passage and a safe departure from your land under your safe-conduct.' But the king answered in a terrible rage: 'May the devil take you to hell and give you a conduct through it!' And when his attendants had with difficulty pacified him, the king ordered Robert Norris, his chamberlain, to conduct Martin in safety as far as the sea. Martin started on his journey at once, keeping close to the side of his escort Robert; and whenever he happened to catch sight of any riders or wayfarers he was seized with such fear and trembling that if the earth had opened up he would have hidden under the turf. And on their way they came to the edge of a wood, which

had been put up for sale by the archbishop-elect of Canterbury, and the countrymen had come to buy and choose the trees. Catching sight of them, Martin is terrified, and says to his escort Robert : ' Alas, alas ! what I feared has happened. Look, they are going to attack us ! My good lord Robert, have you son, nephew, relative, or friend for whom you desire preferment in the Church ? I am ready to get you all you ask. See how they lie in ambush for my life ; protect me under the shadow of your wings.' Robert replied : ' God forbid that any friend of mine should by any means light upon such a step to an ecclesiastical benefice. Who those are yonder I do not know ; but I will go to them at once, if you will await me here, and, by showing them the king's warrant, check their presumption in case they be ill-disposed.' And when, on coming up to them, he learnt the facts of the case, he quickly returned to Martin, and, to deceive him, said : ' It was only with difficulty that I restrained them in their rage from cutting you to pieces. But now let us proceed, stealthily and cautiously, lest a worse thing come upon you. Take ship, and, if you are wise, depart to return no more, lest, unfortunately, you fall into the snares of those who seek your life.' From that time, therefore, Martin spared not his horse's flanks, but chided his escort's delay and hastened to the sea. And when he arrived at Dover, he embarked on S. Swithin's Day [July 15] and gladdened the hearts of many by his departure.

41. LETTER FROM ENGLAND TO THE POPE.

1245. Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv. 441 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

To the reverend father in Christ, Innocent, by the grace of God supreme pontiff, the magnates and commonalty of the realm of England commend them and kiss his blessed feet.

Our mother the Roman Church we love, as in duty bound, with all our hearts, and we desire the increase of her honour with all possible affection, and in her we ought to find a refuge at the proper season, so that the burden of our filial grief may be assuaged by her motherly comfort. And this comfort the mother should render the son the more gently and readily the more she requires his favour and loyalty in return for the support of her motherly grace. Now, our mother Church cannot be unmindful of that gratitude paid to her through long ages by the realm of England, which has given her, for her greater honour and preservation, fitting and unstinted subsidy, in order that thereby a closer league of affection should be brought about between the Church and this realm. And this subsidy in process of time has come to be known as Peter's Pence. But the Church, not content with this sort of subsidy, at divers times by legates and many other messengers, asked for different subsidies in this realm, which were generously and freely given her by her sons whose devotion was so great and who, as it were, embraced their mother in the arms of true affection. Now, we do not think that you are ignorant, father,

that our predecessors, all of them good Catholics, with the love and fear of God in their hearts, anxious, too, to ensure the salvation of their own souls, and that of their predecessors and successors as well, have founded monasteries and endowed them with their property—domain land, and church patronage—so that in them the religious might worthily exercise the first and chiefest part of religion, and by serving the Most High with the deepest devotion might rejoice in peace and the fullest quiet, as is known to be most meet for a religious life, and derive their necessary sustenance from these domains, and that their clerks taking the church within their patronage might undertake in their stead the toils of the world, and by keeping to the second part of religion might defend them from the attacks of others. Wherefore only to our great annoyance and insufferable vexation could these men of religion be in any way deprived of their patronage or appointments to churches. But now, through want of consideration on the part of you and your predecessors, in addition to these subsidies, the Italians in England, of whom there are now vast numbers, are enriched by churches which are really in the patronage of those men of religion, and they are called rectors of the churches; but they leave the religious whom it is their duty to protect absolutely without protection, and, charged with no care of souls, they allow ravening wolves to scatter the flock and harry the sheep. Wherefore it can be said of them with truth, that they are no good shepherds, seeing that they do not know their sheep, and the sheep have no knowledge of their shepherds. To

hospitality and the distribution of alms they pay no heed, as the Church bids; but they merely gather their revenues and take them out of the realm, thereby greatly impoverishing it; and they usurp the revenues which should rightly go to benefit our brothers, nephews, and kinsmen, and all others who have done good service to the realm, and who could and would not only mercifully perform the said works of charity and others as well, but give personal service to the churches, so that they *who serve the altar* may also live of the altar. But now, under the force of necessity, these men are either laymen or exiles. And that you may know the full truth, the Italians in England receive annually 600,000 marks and more, and, not to mention divers other things they receive, take from the realm more clear gain of revenue than the king himself, who is the guardian of the Church, and guides the helm of state. Moreover, after your election we had a good hope, and still have—such is our confidence in you—that by the mediation of your fatherly mercy we shall rejoice in the restoration in your time of our alms in their former proper condition.

But we cannot be silent on our own burden, whereby we are not only weighed down but even oppressed beyond measure. We refer to the fact that Martin, without the permission of our lord the king, and with fuller powers than ever we have seen a legate hold even when invited by our lord the king, has lately come to this realm, and although he does not wear legate's dress, yet, by multiplying a legate's functions and by daily laying claim to new and unheard-of powers, surpasses himself in excesses.

Certain benefices which happened to be vacant, of the annual value of thirty marks or more, he has conferred on Italians, and when they die others are brought in without the knowledge of the patrons, who are thus defrauded of their presentations. Moreover, the said Master Martin tries to assign similar benefices, when they fall vacant, to similar persons, by reserving the presentation to certain benefices for the Apostolic See; and he extorts, besides, immoderate pensions from the religious, everywhere inflicting upon those who gainsay or oppose him sentences of excommunication and interdict, to the great peril and danger of their souls. Since, therefore, this Master Martin, to the great disturbance of the whole realm, exercises this jurisdiction, which we cannot think you have knowingly imparted to him, seeing that in many matters his functions were more extensive than we have ever known a legate's to be, to the prejudice of our lord the king's privileges, specially granted to him by the Apostolic See, to the effect that no one should act as legate in England except at the special request of our lord the king, we now, in all possible humility and devotion, pray your fatherly goodness—for a good father is bound to stretch forth his merciful hand to relieve his son's oppression—that your fatherly kindness may be pleased to relieve us by a seasonable remedy from the burdens we have here rehearsed; for however much our lord the king, who is a Catholic prince, and watchfully zealous in the service of God, unmindful of the wasting away of his own body, may wish in our Lord's service to reverence the Holy See, and as her

most affectionate son long for the increase of the prosperity and honour of the Roman Church, while preserving at the same time his royal rights and dignity, yet we, who in his service 'bear the burden and heat of the day,' and whose duty it is together with him to strive for the preservation of the realm, cannot suffer in patience these oppressions, which are hateful to God and man, and these our insufferable burdens, and by God's grace we will not suffer them, for we hope and believe that we shall have a swift and seasonable remedy provided by your lovingkindness. May it therefore please your fatherly goodness so to accept this petition that you may justly receive the special thanks of the magnates and commonalty of the realm of England, as of your most affectionate sons in Christ.

42. THE KING'S HALF-BROTHERS COME TO ENGLAND.

1247.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, iv. 617, 650 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

At that time, too, landed in England three of our lord the king's half-brothers, at his bidding, in order that they might be splendidly enriched on the treasures and wealth of England. These were Guy of Lusignan, his father's eldest son; William of Valence, not yet of man's estate nor knighted; and Athelmar, who was in Orders. And, beside these, there was their sister Alice, who was the king's sister too. She was the daughter of Isabella, formerly queen of England, now countess de la Marche, who had

married Hugh le Brun, count de la Marche. For they were disgusted and affronted at staying any longer in Poitou, which the French now began woe-fully to oppress, and to insult and despise its people, who under the protection of our lord the king of England had the greatest possible freedom and prosperity; but the French jeered and laughed at them, calling them foul traitors, and pointed at them with the finger of scorn. So, I say, our lord the king, with every sign of joy, went to meet his brothers and sister on their arrival, and embraced and kissed them with brotherly heartiness, promising them valuable gifts and great possessions; and this promise he faithfully kept, even beyond the terms of his promise, as our subsequent narrative will more fully show.

* * * * *

Now, when Guy of Lusignan, the king's brother, left England, our lord the king filled his saddle-bags with such a weight of new money that Guy had to get more horses. On another brother, William of Valence, he bestowed Hereford Castle, with the honour attached thereto, and no little treasure, so that the king himself appeared to be in want, and to plunder or beg even for his own food; wherefore those who loved the king honestly and truly were greatly afraid lest the curses heaped upon his head by the poor should make his alms of no avail, and that his prayers in church—which God forbid—should be turned to sin. The third of his brothers, Athelmar, he provided with so many abundant and rich revenues, which he extorted one by one by imperious requests from every bishop and abbot, that

he seemed to surpass the presumption of the Romans, while Athelmar seemed to be wealthier than the bishops.

43. EXTORTIONS OF ARCHBISHOP BONIFACE.

1248. Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 36 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

About the same time Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was fighting in the pope's behalf at Lyons,

forgetful of* | too little concerned for his own church, at any rate as far as the charge of souls is concerned, supported by the pope's authority, extorted from the churches lying vacant in his province, whose revenues he held for a year, a great mass of treasure from poor England, which became as a vine to be devoured by wild boars, and to be plucked at by all that pass by; and that he might bruise the hearts of his victims the more he had it announced by the dean of Beauvais, his agent in this matter, that excommunication had been inflicted on all those who, by public or private imputations or detractions, put any obstacle soever in the way of the privilege granted and bestowed by the lord pope upon the said archbishop, or made any short or false return in these revenues. From this, however, were excepted our lord the king, the queen, their children, and the noble earl Richard. And this decree was published in every church throughout England, and engendered indignation in many hearts,

See note, p. 60.

not only on account of the wrongful extortion of the money, with its unheard-of greed, but on account of the cringing flattery at the end of it; and our lord the king was heartily cursed for allowing such things and giving his consent thereto.

44. LETTER FROM THE POPE CONFIRMING AN ITALIAN APPOINTMENT.

1250.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 177 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

Although the prior of Binham had plenary jurisdiction in the church of Westley [Cambridgeshire], to be used as he thought fit, as coming from the patron's presentation, the confirmation of two bishops and their chapters, on the authority of three pontiffs of the Roman Church—Lucius, Eugenius, and Gregory IX.; yet a base illiterate Genoese, against all right and justice, obtained from the lord pope the following letter:

‘Innocent, bishop, etc., to our well-beloved son, Master Berard de Nympha, our secretary now in England, greeting and the apostolic blessing.

Seeing that N., our well-beloved son and chamberlain, on the death of Reinhard of Solers, provost of Ypres, has on our authority thought well to confer the church of Westley, in the diocese of Ely, upon our well-beloved clerk Enrichetto, the son of the illustrious Genoese, Perrin de Malachana of Volta, and holds all objections raised to his appointment idle and invalid; albeit that church, being in the gift of our well-beloved sons the prior and monas-

tery of Binham, of the order of St. Benedict, was held as long as he lived in England by the said provost; we, ratifying the said chamberlain's action herein, bid you by our apostolic letters use your discretion so as to ensure that the proctor of Enrichetto himself, or anyone else you please, acting on his behalf, be personally inducted by you or someone else, and that you protect him when inducted; and if there is any opposition you must postpone the appeal and silence them by ecclesiastical censure, notwithstanding the privilege accorded to the English, by which, when an Italian vacates or resigns a benefice, another Italian cannot immediately succeed to it, and in spite of any other privilege of which mention should here be made, or by means of which this presentation or appointment could be stopped or even delayed, or by the clause of the two days' journey, published in the General Council.* Given at Lyons, April 29, in the seventh year of our pontificate.'

45. RETURN OF SIMON DE MONTFORT FROM GASCONY.

1251.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 208 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

On the feast of the Epiphany Simon, earl of Leicester, suddenly arrived from Gascony, in haste and poorly attended, with three squires for all his company, and with his horses worn out with hunger

The reference is to Cap. 37 of the Constitutions of the fourth Lateran Council, under Innocent III.

and hard work. And on his arrival in London he had an audience of the king, and made the most urgent demands for effective aid from the king, in money and men, to crush the insolent Gascons who had risen against him; for he maintained that he could not, single-handed, go on with so expensive a war unless he had royal support, although he had drained the resources of his earldom of Leicester. With this object in view he thus stimulated and encouraged our lord the king: 'My lord king, you must remember that when you were late in Gascony you confidently fled for refuge to those you thought your loyal subjects, but they did not give you the welcome of affectionate hearts and stretched not out their hands in dutiful support. They had no mercy on you when you were fleeing from the snares of the king of France, who was pursuing you; they had no mercy on the queen when she lay ill at La Réole, or afterwards in childbirth at Bordeaux; but they extorted your treasure from you and suffered you to lose land and honour.' When the king heard this he took pity on the earl in his great distress, and replied, to comfort him: 'By God's head, sir earl, you speak the truth, and I will not refuse you effective aid in your valiant service to me. But loud and serious complaints have been made that you shamefully imprison those who come to you in peace, and even those that you invite, as it were, under safe conduct, and that you put them to death in prison.' But this the earl steadfastly denied, and said to the king: 'My lord, their treachery, which you know and have experienced, makes us disbelieve them.' . . .

The earl, therefore, relieved by the king's encourage-

ment, in spite of the fact that, surprised by the general rising of the Gascon traitors, he had fled the country, grew more hopeful. After receiving 3,000 marks from the royal treasury, and collecting a great sum of money from his earldom of Leicester and the estates that had belonged to Gilbert Humframville, which he held in wardship, he returned immediately in great joy and sent a message to the duke of Brabant and the neighbouring princes to send him, as soon as he landed, some knights and well-armed retainers, to serve under him loyally at good pay as soon as he could get to Gascony.

46. SIMON DE MONTFORT AND BISHOP GROSSETESTE.

Translated from the Latin of Adam Marsh's letter to bishop of Lincoln in 'Monumenta Franciscana,' p. 110 [Rolls].

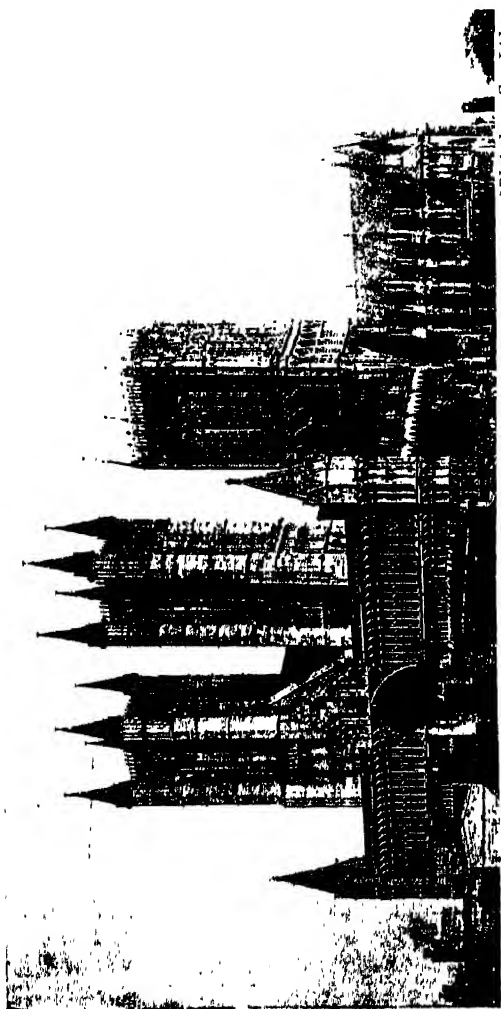
I return your lordship your essay on governance, as you sent it under the earl of Leicester's seal. Should his lordship the earl have to return shortly to Gascony, he intends, in consequence of considering the matter with the countess and myself, to entrust his eldest son, Henry, to your fatherly care, in order that, while of tender years, he may, under the fatherly guidance of your saintly care, by God's grace advance, for some time, as far as may be, in sound learning and moral training. Should, however, his lordship remain in England, he proposes to follow your excellent counsel and to make other arrangements for the son mentioned. . . . The earl of Leicester has spoken to me about the salutary

design which God put into your heart for the redemption of souls, and, far more than most people would believe, he praises it and heartily endorses it. . . . But he is much concerned at your bodily weakness, and says that he does not see how you are strong enough to grapple with such enormous difficulties.

47. GROSSETESTE'S VISITATION OF THE MONASTERIES IN LINCOLN.

1251. Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 226 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

At this time the bishop of Lincoln held a visitation in the monasteries in his diocese ; but if we were to rehearse all the acts of tyranny he performed during it, he would get the blame not only of strictness, but of harshness and cruelty. For when, for instance, he came to Ramsey, with his seculars in attendance, he examined with his own eyes the monks' beds in the dormitory, went round the whole place, pried into every detail, and if he found anything fastened up destroyed it ; like a burglar, he ransacked their coffers, and any cups he found ornamented with circles or pedestals he trampled into small pieces ; but had he proceeded more thoughtfully he could have demanded them as they were for the poor. . . . And he heaped, too, the curses uttered by Moses on the heads of those who transgressed his statutes and the blessings of Moses on those who should have observed the same. But in the following Lent he was suspended from his episcopal office, because he



[Photograph Co. Ltd.]

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

(The choir was built at the very end of the twelfth century, and is a notable instance of the Early English style.)

refused to admit an Italian who did not know English to a rich benefice in his diocese. But it is supposed that he did all this in order to keep from sin his flock, for whose souls he had to answer.

48. SIMON DE MONTFORT AND HIS GASCON ACCUSERS.

1252. Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 289 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

On their return the Commissioners* intimated to the king that Simon had treated some of the Gascons with great harshness, but, as far as they knew, no worse than they deserved, although, owing to the earl's absence, this had not been thoroughly established. But on hearing this the Gascons who happened to be at that time in the king's presence—that is to say, the archbishop of Bordeaux and his fellow-petitioners—cried out: 'Evidence of the truth will certainly be shown, and after the evidence we demand judgment'; and they swore that they would never submit to or obey the earl, who wanted to exterminate them; nay, they said they would rather take to themselves another lord than the king of England. And when these serious accusations were made against his honour in the king's court, and his dishonour was being made more certain by the increasing number of witnesses, the earl came over to England in all speed and haste. When this was

* The king had sent Henry de Wengham, a former seneschal of Bordeaux, on a secret commission of enquiry into Simon's alleged misconduct in Gascony.

known a day was appointed for him to reply to these adversaries. So the earl in this difficult position secured on that day the presence of earl Richard, who was well pleased at the discomfiture of the Gascons; of the earl of Gloucester, who in this matter took Simon's part; of the earl of Hereford; and of many other nobles and magnates who would not suffer the earl to run any danger for such a cause. For great alarm was felt lest the king by a sudden impulse, his favour to foreigners being so well known, should order the arrest and imprisonment of his illustrious and noble subject, as though he were a proved traitor, which could in no way be allowed. And when the earl had satisfactorily maintained his innocence and his opponents had been refuted or silenced, the king took up the quarrel; but when he perceived that earl Richard and all the others favoured earl Simon, because they were guided by discretion, he could not, in spite of strong temptation, wreak his royal severity upon him. But shuffling speeches on both sides gave rise to angry quarrels. Things that had happened long ago were rashly recalled—as for instance, that in Saintonge the earl had by force of arms freed the king from the snares of the French, and how the first time he was going to Gascony the king had gently persuaded him to crush the traitors, and how he had made out his charter of governorship for six years, and how he had promised him effective aid and counsel, which had not been fulfilled. And the earl went on to say: 'My lord king, you should keep your word firmly and surely. Keep to your bargain with me—either hold to your promise according to the

tenour of your charter, or pay me back the expenses I have lavished in your service; for it is well known that for your honour I have impoverished my earldom beyond recovery.' The king replied with great haste and thoughtlessness: 'Understand that I shall not think of keeping my promise to such a worthless supplanter, or of holding to my bargain with such a traitor; for it is lawful to withdraw from bargains made with those who slip out of *theirs*, and to take a high hand with those who are openly fractious.' Now, on hearing this the earl was very indignant, and, rising from his seat, openly declared that in saying this the king had proved himself a liar, and that were he not protected and marked off by his kingly rank, it would have been an evil hour for him when he uttered such a speech. Then the king, scarcely containing himself for anger, would forthwith have ordered his arrest had he not been certain that it would not have been allowed by the nobles. And the earl went on to say: 'Who would suppose you to be a Christian? Have you ever been to confession?' 'Yea,' said the king. 'What is the good of confession,' retorted the earl, 'without repentance and restitution?' as though he would say: 'If you have ever been to confession, you have never had a contrite heart nor made proper atonement.' Then the king, his wrath blazing still higher, replied: 'I certainly never repented of anything so much as I now repent of having ever allowed you to come into England, or to hold any estate or dignity in that country wherein you are *waxen fat and kick against me*.' Their friends then interrupted the dispute and separated them.

49. GROSSETESTE'S OPPOSITION TO THE KING'S EXTORTION.

1252. Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 324 [Rolls]. *Flo1.* 1235-
1259.

Now, shortly before the feast of St. Edward [October 13], which the king was in the habit of keeping with great pomp and circumstance, nearly all the prelates of England met by the king's commands. . . . Our lord the king then laid before them a papal mandate, a thing which all well-wishers of the realm hated and loathed. Its purport was that the pope, by the authority granted him by God, had bestowed a full tenth of the realm—that is to say, of the revenues of the whole Church of England—for the space of three years, to cover the expenses of the king's pilgrimage. To this was added a clause that gave great offence, to the effect that the assessment should be made, not on the old basis, but according to a new and stringent commission, at the caprice and pleasure of the royal agents and extortioners, who would cunningly work first for their own and then the king's profit, to the Church's incalculable loss and perpetual slavery. The king's messengers then made subtle representations to the assembled bishops that they should consent to this huge contribution, and demanded with foxy cunning that the money for two years should be paid according to the papal mandate, but that the money for the third year, although no mention of this was really made in the mandate, should be paid before the pilgrimage started, the consequence being that

the whole of the money collected in this way, or at least half of it, would be granted freely and cheerfully to the king just before going on pilgrimage. For then, they said, our lord the king would direct his march towards the east. But, on hearing this, the bishop of Lincoln, who with others was amazed at words so poisoned and dangerous to the overthrow of the Church, answered in great wrath: 'By our Lady, what is this I hear? You are arguing on premises that you have taken for granted. Do you suppose that we are going to agree to this cursed contribution? God forbid that we should thus bow the knee to Baal!' The bishop-elect of Winchester* replied: 'Father, how shall we be able to resist the will of the pope and the king? The one drives us, the other pulls us. The French in the same circumstance agreed to a similar contribution—namely, to come to the aid of their king when he was going on pilgrimage. They are stronger than we, and have been more used and ready to offer resistance. And how are we strong enough to resist?' The bishop of Lincoln replied: 'We must resist for the very reason that the French contributed: for repeated action constitutes a precedent. Moreover, unfortunately, we see only too well the result of the French king's tyrannical extortion of money. Let us be warned off by previous examples. Lest the king and ourselves incur the heavy displeasure of God, I for my part say openly that I oppose this harmful contribution.' This opinion was heartily approved by the bishops of London, Chichester, Worcester, the bishop-elect of Winchester. and

* Æthelmar, see p. 84.

nearly all the others. The bishop of Salisbury would give no opinion either way. Then the bishop of Lincoln added: 'Let us all beseech our lord the king to take heed to his soul's salvation and curb this rash impulsiveness.'

50. SIMON DE MONTFORT'S SERVICES TO THE CHURCH.

Translated from Latin of Adam Marsh's letter to Earl Simon in 'Monumenta Franciscana,' p. 264 [Rolls].

Most gracious earl, how unalloyed, how splendid, how saintly will be your heavenly reward in the kingdom of God for your blessed and indefatigable care and regard, fittingly shown for the purity, honour, and sanctity of God's Church! For what can we suppose could ever be more pleasing and acceptable to the Son of God than a patient watchfulness for the salvation of souls, in whose behalf He Himself was willing that His blessed blood, outpoured in such agony, should dye the cross of our redemption. What will it profit to provide for the country's peace and not keep peace in our own family? Let us take heed, for the long-suffering man is better than a man of might, and he who conquers himself is better than the stormer of cities. I am surprised if your shrewdness does not perceive what I mean by this remark.

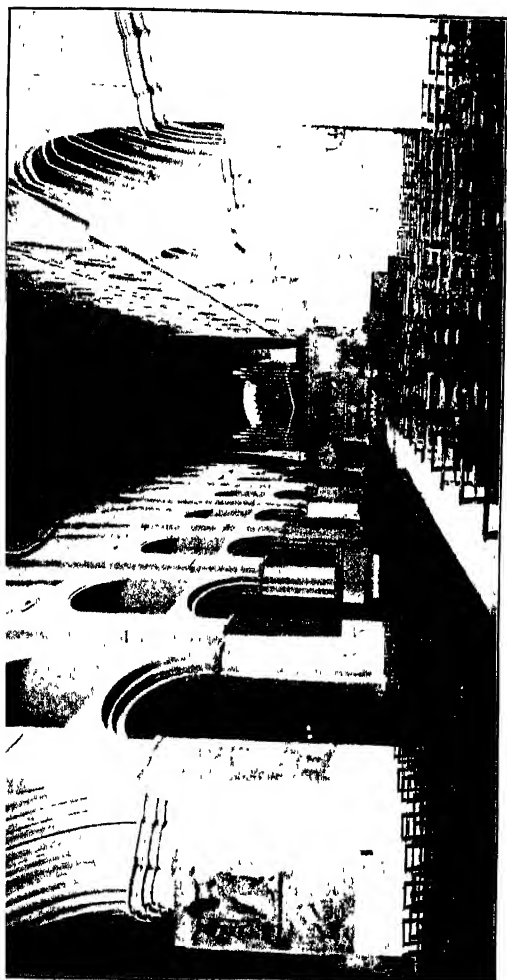
Farewell, my noble lord. Write to me in reply, if it please your lordship, in full detail about all points your judgment shall approve, and let me know your opinion and will thereon.

51. SPECIMEN OF THE KING'S FAVOURITES.

1252.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 329 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

Now, the king in the course of his usual follies did not cease to distribute escheated estates and vacant revenues upon obscure foreigners, illiterate and utterly worthless buffoons, that so he might the more incurably wound the hearts of his natural subjects. And if we pass over other instances, we think it well to record one in this book. His brother Geoffrey of Lusignan had a chaplain, who was treated by the king and his own master and the whole of their court as a fool and absolute clown, so that they all roared at his nonsense as if he were a professional player or minstrel; on him our lord the king bestowed the fat living of Preston, which had been held by William of Haverhull, the king's treasurer, who had recently died. The annual income of this living is known to amount to the value of more than a hundred pounds. Well, this chaplain, who is a Poitevin, and is absolutely uneducated and illiterate, I saw with my own eyes pelting our lord the king, his brother Geoffrey, and other nobles walking in the orchard at St. Albans, with turfs, stones, and green apples, and squeezing the juice of sour grapes into their eyes, as if he knew all about that sort of thing. By his mean actions, language, dress, yes, and carriage and size, he would have passed for an actor rather than a priest; for he was a disgrace to the priesthood. These are the sort of people to whom the king entrusts the charge of thousands of souls,



[Photocolor Co., Ltd.]

THE NAVE, ST. ALBANS ABBEY.

(Notice the Norman work on the left and the Early English on the right.)

or gets them entrusted, while he despises vast numbers of educated, discreet, suitable, native-born Englishmen, knowing how to speak English and to train their uncouth fellow-countrymen.

52. THE POPE'S OFFER TO RICHARD OF CORNWALL.

1252. Translated from Latin of Matthew Paris, v. 346 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-1259.

About the feast of St. Martin [November 11] Master Albert, the Pope's notary, came to England. He had come two years before, when the French king was about to cross over sea, to forbid, in the pope's name, the king of England to interfere in any way with the French king's land, inasmuch as he was about to undertake God's service. Now, at first there were many who did not know the reason of his coming; but the result of his operations afterwards revealed the reason. Our lord the pope, knowing that our lord the king's brother, earl Richard, was the wealthiest of all western princes, cunningly undertook to have him elected and invited to the throne of Apulia, Sicily, and Calabria; his idea being that the earl should fight for the pope, and by spending his money in the doubtful chances of war, and by exposing himself to danger, should win all that realm for the profit of the Roman Curia, and the filling of its treasury, to his own great loss; for he relied on the subtle deception of him who said, '*All this will I give Thee, if Thou wilt only fall down and worship me.*' For the pope knew that the earl was

extremely ambitious for inexhaustible wealth and worldly dignity. So he baited his hook with such a desirable bait as he thought would the more quickly entice him. And then the mystery was explained why the pope had formerly so highly honoured earl Richard as to sit with him at table like a relative, and had praised him so highly as to astonish everyone. But a large number of people did not believe for a moment that the earl would agree to the promises made by the pope: for he by no means enjoyed sound and robust health; he was not a vigorous or skilful warrior; it seemed a dishonourable thing to supplant his nephew Henry; and, lastly, a wise man does not exchange certainty for uncertainty. But our lord the pope considered all these objections as no objections, and was prepared to pass them. It is to be noted that on the day on which earl Richard dined with the pope the king of the French was unfortunately captured. This information was dictated to me word for word by the earl himself.

53. SIMON DE MONTFORT AND THE FRENCH REGENCY.

1253.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 371 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

Now, just before Easter the French nobles came to the conclusion that the realm of France was in imminent danger for want of good counsel, owing to the king's absence on pilgrimage in the Holy Land, the death of queen Blanche, and the defeat

of the French princes in the Holy Land; therefore, observing the earl of Leicester's loyalty and eminence, his father being his chosen model in all things, and seeing that he was now free from the governorship of Gascony, they earnestly begged him to stay among them and to be one of the guardians of the crown and realm of France; in return they would load him with honours worthy of his deserts. For they said they knew well that he had always loved France, just as his father Simon had done, who had fought for the Church against the Albigenses, and that he was no stranger to the French in blood. So now for the second time the French intimated this wish to the earl by letters and a special embassy, but he steadfastly refused, lest he should seem a deserter.

54. ILL-TREATMENT OF THE JEWS.

1254.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 441 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

About that time, after Easter, not long before the Rogation days, the king, who could not keep quiet, broke out into such a fury against the wretched Jewish nation that he made them long for death. When they were assembled together, earl Richard demanded from them, under pain of the vilest imprisonment and shameful death, a vast sum of money for the use of the king, who was in the direst want. Therefore Elias of London, their high priest, who had often had to pay large sums of money, took counsel with his fellow-Jews and replied for all of

them: 'My lords and nobles, we see quite clearly that our lord the king means to wipe us off the face of the earth. For God's sake, let him give us safe conduct and permission to withdraw from his realm, that we may seek and find a resting-place elsewhere, under some prince who has bowels of compassion and stands by truth and faithfulness; and we will go away and return no more, leaving our furniture and homes here. How should he have any affection for us poor Jews or spare us, when he destroys his native-born Englishmen? He has papal, yes, and his own, hucksters—I do not call them usurers—who from their eminence heap up untold piles of money. Let the king lean on them and gape after his own gain. For they have supplanted us, and reduced us to poverty. The king pretends not to know this when he demands from us what we cannot give—not even if he were to pluck out our eyes and flay us alive.' And after this speech, which was interrupted by sobs and tears, he fell in a fit and almost died. But when the governors got to know of this, they did not allow them to depart from the realm, but said: 'Whither would you flee, you wretched people? The king of the French hates and persecutes you and has condemned you to perpetual exile. You want to avoid Charybdis to be plunged into Scylla.' And so their remaining substance that they had left to eke out their scanty sustenance was violently taken from them.

55. MARRIAGE OF EDWARD AND ELEANOR OF CASTILE.

1254.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 449 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

At that time Edward was sent with great pomp and state to Alfonso, king of Spain. There he was honourably and courteously received, and at Burgos married Eleanor, the king's young sister; the king, who was well pleased with the young prince's handsome bearing, bestowing upon him the honour of knighthood. When, therefore, Edward returned home to his father with his bride he was welcomed with the greatest joy, as though he had been an angel from heaven. And sir John Mansel brought with him a charter of the king of Spain, with golden seals, to the effect that he withdrew all claims to Gascony for himself and his heirs in favour of the king of England and his heirs. And then our lord the king of England bestowed on his son and his son's wife Gascony, Ireland, Wales, Bristol, Stamford, and Grantham; so that he himself appeared to be a mere dismembered kinglet.

56. HENRY III. ACCEPTS SICILY FOR HIS SON EDMUND.

1254.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 457 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

When Master Albert returned to the Roman court he reported to the pope that he had failed in per-

suading earl Richard to consent to accept the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia, which had been offered to him, and to expose himself and his affairs to uncertain chances, except on condition—first, that the pope should give him, in guarantee of good faith, the leading members of his family as hostages; and, secondly, that he should assist him with a certain sum of money, to be expended in that campaign; and, thirdly, that he should hand over to him certain castles held by the pope on the frontier, in order that he might have in them a safe retreat. But the pope, seeing the difficulties he would have in this, replied: ‘We do not care to be bound by so many conditions.’ Master Albert answered: ‘The earl told me that if you won’t agree to these conditions, it is as much as to say, “I sell you or give you the moon; you have only to go up and take it.”’ But the pope, coming to the conclusion that the earl was uninfluenced by his suggestions, added: ‘We are not anxious for his alliance, nor to have anything to do with him.’ When, therefore, the pope made sure that *he had spread his net in vain in sight of the birds*, he sent a secret embassy to our lord the king of England, in order to get the better of his simplicity of heart, seeing that he knew his credulity and his constant tendency to work his own ruin, and made him the offer of the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia; and he told him that to obtain it he would give him such support as he could without any charge to himself, for he would divert all crusaders from their chief intention, and instruct them not to sail to the Holy Land, but in one host all follow the king of England and help him to obtain Sicily and

Apulia. But when this came to the ears of the Templars, Hospitallers, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and all the prelates and people of the Holy Land, who fight against Christ's foes, and who at this time were fearing the worst, they were grieved to the death in their loathing of Roman treachery. However, the king was so delighted with the pope's shadowy promise, and his heart was so puffed up with vain joy, that his speech, conduct, and hilarity openly expressed his triumph, while he publicly gave his son Edmund the title of king of Sicily, evidently under the idea that his designs on that kingdom were now practically accomplished. . . . So he sent to the pope all the money he could get from the treasury and the exchequer, all he could borrow from his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, all he could scrape together from the Jews, and all he was able to extort by the wholesale robbery of his itinerant justices.

57. THE KINGDOM PLEDGED FOR THE POPE'S WAR.

1254.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 470 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

At this same time, in violation of all decency and expediency, under the pain of disinheritance, though he neither could nor should have done such a thing, the king pledged himself and his realm to our lord the pope, as security for all the treasures to be expended by the latter in the prosecution of the war he had begun on such a splendid scale on the king's behalf; and he begged him to leave nothing undone

through despair of getting the money, but to push on the undertaking and to crush all those who put obstacles in the way of his excellent purpose. For he, the king, was amply supplying him with all necessaries from the unexhausted well of England. So the pope, having no lively affection for England, borrowed largely, nay, lavishly, from Italian usurers, or traders as they are called; and this money, which the pope extorted and the king got by cheating, England, the veriest bonds slave of servitude, had to pay.

58. EDMUND INVESTED WITH THE KINGDOM OF SICILY.

1255.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 515 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

Now, after the feast of St. Luke [October 18] a numerously-attended assembly of nobles was held by the king's command. To it came the bishop of Romagna on behalf of the pope. He brought with him a ring, and as the pope's proxy he conferred this ring on the king's son Edmund, thus solemnly investing him with the realm of Sicily and Apulia. By this the king's heart was greatly elated, and he was as triumphantly pleased 'as if he were being crowned king after receiving the homage of all Sicily and Apulia and capturing their cities and castles. And the son was publicly called by the king his father Edmund, king of Sicily. Now, the bishop of Romagna did not know, we imagine, that the papal expedition had been crushed and that the

king of England's treasury was not only completely exhausted, but terribly burdened with debt as well; at any rate, if he did know, he prudently pretended not to, in order not to lose the gifts that had been prepared for him. But undoubtedly this was unknown to the king and the nobles; and the bishop, before the real facts of the case were known in England, had returned home laden with valuable gifts. But the king, prostrating himself with too little forethought before the altar in his nobles' presence, with too great confidence in the Pope's support, swore by St. Edward to go to Apulia.

59. QUARREL BETWEEN THE KING AND THE EARL MARSHAL.

1255.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 530 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

In the same parliament, when the earl marshal was defending Robert de Ros, who was charged with so great a crime that his life was in danger, our lord the king heaped the same imputation on the earl as on Robert, and openly called him a traitor. The earl, blazing with anger, frowned and replied: 'It is a lie! Never, indeed, have I been a traitor, and never shall.' And he went on to say: 'If you do what you should, what harm can you do me?' The king replied: 'I can have your corn taken from you, threshed and sold; and so you will be humbled and not be so proud.' The earl answered: 'If you do that I will cut off your threshers' heads and send them back to you.' And as there were fears that

worse would follow, their friends interfered and separated them; their festering speeches were cut short, but peace was not so absolutely restored that they did not produce indignation and enmity.

60. EDWARD AND HIS WELSH NEIGHBOURS.

1255. From the translation of the Welsh
 'Brut-y-Tywysogion,' 341 [Rolls].
 Probably contemporary.

The ensuing year Edward, son of king Henry, earl of Caerleon [Chester], came, in August . . ., to take a survey of his castles and lands in Gwynedd. And then, as it were about August, and after he had returned to England, the nobles of Wales came to Llewelyn, son of Griffith, having been robbed of their liberty and made captives, and complainingly declared to him that they would rather be killed in war for their liberty than suffer themselves to be trodden down by strangers in bondage. And Llewelyn was moved at their tears; and by their incitement and advice, he, with Meredith, son of Rhys the Hoarse, invaded the midland country, and subdued it all before the end of the week. And then he took Merioneth to himself, and that part of Ceredigion, which belonged to Edward he gave to Meredith, son of Owen, son of Griffith, son of the lord, with Builth in addition; and he restored to Meredith, son of Rhys the Hoarse, his territory, by expelling his nephew Rhys from his territory, and gave the territory to Meredith, retaining nothing to himself of all the conquered lands other than fame



MAP OF THE MARCHES.

and reward. And afterwards he wrested Gwerth-rynyon from Roger Mortimer, and held it in his own hand.

61. THE SONG OF THE CHURCH.

1256.

Translated from Anglo-Norman of
original in 'Political Songs,' p. 43
[*Camden Society*].

On a time the clergy
Were highest in the land ;
Honoured and respected,
An influential band.
Now they are in slavery
And every way debased ;
Trodden under foot they are,
And specially disgraced
By those who most should give them strength.
If I but dared to speak at greater length !

The king and pope of Rome,
To nothing else they hold
But how they may obtain
The clergy's gear and gold.
This is the gist of all
That by the pope's behest,
The king, to aid his crown,
Doth gain too oft his quest.
The tenth of all the clergy's goods
He doth on him bestow ;
So doth the king, devoid of care,
Work as he will, I trow.

And yet methinks it is not sage
 His honour thus to smirch,
 For never can he hope to gain
 By robbing Holy Church.
 And this he knows as well as I ;
 But, lest he be deceived,
 Let him regard the king of France
 And what he hath achieved.

62. COMPLAINTS OF THE GASCON WINE MERCHANTS.

1256. Translated from Latin of Matthew
 Paris, v. 538 [Rolls]. *Flo1.* 1235-
 1259.

At this time the Gascon wine merchants had, as usual, endured much loss and harshness from the royal buyers, and, a quarrel ensuing, had made the following reply to the royal agents: 'We have a new lord, from whom we hope to derive considerable gain and advantage, and we suppose, therefore, that you will change your evil plundering ways, which you call *customs*, to good, or at any rate passable, regulations. Our lord is new to us, and it is good for him to be well advised, and, while he is so new, to treat us affably and justly, so that he who is, we may say, a tender and youthful plant may grow and increase in prosperity and be fruitful in strength.' And when the royal officials refused to listen to them, but, as usual, took their wine from them by force, without paying for it, the Gascons applied to their lord, Edward, and laid before him serious complaints as to what we have mentioned; and

they added that they could, as merchants, land with more freedom and liberty among the Saracens and expose their wares for sale and get the proper price without any trouble. The king's bailiffs, hearing this, came to the king in great anger and said: 'Sire, till now there has only been one king in England, whose business it is to do justice. The Gascon wine merchants have complained to another than you of the wrong they falsely say has been done to them. This cannot but redound to your prejudice and to the realm's.' Just as the king was indignantly listening to this Edward came, and made a bitter complaint about the wrong inflicted on his subjects, maintaining that he would certainly not put up with such conduct. So when the king heard this he groaned deeply, and said: 'See, my own flesh and blood oppose me. Just as my brother, earl Richard, turned against me, so now does my eldest son. The days of my grandfather, Henry II., are come again, against whom his best-loved sons presumptuously rebelled.' Many, therefore, drawing gloomy forebodings from this, were afraid of still worse to follow. But the king, following wiser counsels, passed all this over in silence, and gave proper instructions for the wrong to be righted. Edward, as if taking precautions for his own future, increased his retinue at that time, and rode out with 200 mounted followers.

63. EARL RICHARD ELECTED KING OF THE ROMANS.

1257.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 601 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

In the year of our Lord 1257, the forty-first of our lord king Henry III., the king was at London for Christmas; and there came to him there, to a numerous assembly of nobles including the earl Richard, some princes of Germany, to announce to them all that they had unanimously and duly elected Richard king of Germany. And if the earl would but consent to their wishes, they asked him to be their king and lord. . . . And when some hesitation was shown as to what should be done, because the earl's presence was very necessary to the realm of England, the king said before them all: 'That there may be no appearance of faint-heartedness, my advice and prayer is that he should not refuse to accept this honour which has been bestowed and offered by God and man.' And though there was some alarm felt because within a few years two princes had been elected to the throne of Germany, and after their election had come to an evil end, as if God had not been pleased, yet there were others who comforted the earl with these words: 'Wise and prudent earl, why hesitate, as if you were frightened by the ill-omened career of the landgrave Henry or of the count William of Holland? The Pope is not thrusting you on to the throne by force, to support you by the spoils of the Church and plunder of the crusaders, which would never be of any use to you.' . . . The king also and his

brothers, especially the bishop-elect of Winchester, urged him on with the greatest keenness, maintaining that this honour exalted for all time the whole English nation. When the earl heard this he showed a manly front, and, greatly encouraged, said frankly and openly: 'Trusting in God's grace, albeit insufficient and unworthy, I thankfully accept this burden and honour which, as I hope, Heaven has conferred upon me, for I will not be called faint-hearted and over-cautious.'

64. EDMUND PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT.

1257.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 623 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

Before this parliament was dissolved, in presence of all the people, the king brought forward Edmund and presented him to them all. He showed him in public, dressed in Apulian costume, and made the following speech: 'My faithful subjects, you see here my son Edmund, whom the Lord of His grace and favour has called to the distinction of royalty; see how evidently worthy he is of all men's favour, and how barbarous and tyrannical he would be that should refuse him herein effective and fitting counsel and aid.' He went on to maintain that, by the counsel and kindly favour of the pope and of the English Church, he had pledged himself to win the kingdom of Sicily, under pain of losing his own realm, by a promise to pay 140,000 marks, without counting the interest, which goes on steadily, if silently, increasing day by day. He also asked, for

a period of five years, for a general tenth from all the clergy, on all their benefices, on the basis of the recent estimates, deducting only necessary expenses. He also demanded, for a period of five years, the first-fruits of all ecclesiastical benefices that should fall vacant, as well as half the income of those residing in their benefices; likewise from the privileged the fruits of all their benefices, reserving for their support, however, the revenues of a moderate period. On hearing this all their ears tingled and their hearts were filled with amazement, especially since they knew that this tyranny had been originated by the pope. At last, however, when, although they offered excuses with tears in their eyes, and begged for a respite, they utterly failed, they promised the king, to the irretrievable loss of the English Church, 52,000 marks for his pressing needs; but they added this condition—that he should henceforth strictly observe the Great Charter, which had been so often promised, bought and rebought, and that he should cease to injure and impoverish them by plundering them on so many pretexts. It is said that the king never before received so splendid a present.

65. SIMON DE MONTFORT QUARRELS WITH WILLIAM DE VALENCE.

1257.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 634 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

In London at this time, in presence of the king and many nobles, a quarrel arose between Simon, earl of Leicester, and William de Valence. For

William, because he was our lord the king's half-brother, treated all his neighbours with disrespect, and was especially violent against men of religion; and taking on himself the horns of tyranny, just like his brothers, because of his relationship to the king, he had raided the earl's lands and carried off the booty. But when the earl's seneschal had rescued it, William broke out into a passion and heaped insults upon the earl, both in speech and action. The recital of all this in the king's presence and the accompanying complaints brought on a quarrel which almost led to blows; for William, before king and nobles, to use the ordinary expression, publicly gave the earl the lie and disrespectfully branded him as a traitor—the greatest insult he could offer to a knight. The earl was terribly indignant, and, it is said, would have made a rush at him, for anger is temporary madness, and it was only with difficulty that he was fortunately stopped by the king, who intervened and in amazement threw himself between his brother-in-law and his brother, to prevent the latter from being killed. But the dregs of enmity, thus stirred up, could never afterwards settle down.

66. THE WELSH EXPEDITION.

1257.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 639 seq. [Rolls]. *Flor.*
1235-1259.

At this time our lord the king sent his writs throughout England, to the effect that all who owed military service to their lord the king should on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene [July 22] be ready and

prepared to follow him, with horses and arms, into Wales, to march against the Welsh and to repel their attacks. For the Welsh were now roaming at large and seizing the castles of the borderers and even of the English with impunity; they were putting garrisons to the sword and devastating the country with plunder, fire, and slaughter. When the king had decided to march against them with an army, they got to hear of it, and prudently carried off their wives, children, and cattle into the interior, in the neighbourhood of Snowdon, a mountainous district inaccessible to the English; they ploughed up their fields, and wherever the English would be likely to have their line of march they demolished their walls, destroyed the bridges, made the fords impassable by digging holes, so that those who tried to cross would be plunged in and be drowned, and removed at once every kind of food. And the work of war prospered under their hands, for their cause seemed just even to their enemies; and this it was which chiefly encouraged them in a struggle worthy of their descent for their ancient laws and liberties, a struggle they entered upon as bravely as the Trojans from whom they sprang. Shame upon the wretched English, trampled upon by any and every foreigner, who suffer the ancient liberties of their realm to be snuffed out and do not blush at hearing of the example set them by the Welsh! The latter refused absolutely to submit to Edward, our lord the king's son, but laughed him to scorn with insults and jeers, with the result that he decided to give up Wales and the Welsh as untamable.

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At that time the Welsh, thinking that things had come to a crisis, leagued themselves in a firm alliance, north and south, a thing which had never been seen before, because hitherto north and south had always been opposed to each other. So, acting together, they suddenly made a vigorous attack upon the king's army, having obtained information by treachery. The king's troops were cut off in a narrow marshy position near their camp, their retreat to which they thought they had secured ; but when they supposed they were falling back upon its protection, they found enemies where they thought there were friends. So, crushed as it were between two mill-stones, being attacked in front and rear, they were defeated and scattered and butchered at their enemies' pleasure. In that bloody engagement there fell on the side of our lord the king the distinguished soldiers sir Stephen Baucan, a great friend of the king's, sir Robert Norris, and many others whose names we do not remember. The victorious Welsh, therefore, received into their friendship and alliance Griffith, lord of Bromfield, by whose counsel and warrant they had done this ; for he was by race a Welshman, a man of noble birth and of great energy ; and because some time back he had remained loyal to the king, the Welsh had reduced to ashes all his vast estates and possessions, which the king had neither the will nor the power to guarantee.

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About that time our lord the king, with a large army, approached Chester just before harvest ; and his followers, to prevent the Welsh from getting supplies from them, ruthlessly laid waste the splendid crops and much other produce, thus inflicting great loss on

themselves as well as others. The consequence was that very soon such want arose in the army that horses as well as men had to put up with great scarcity of provisions. Meanwhile, the king, to cast the Welsh, whom he called his traitors and enemies, into the depths of despair, sent to Scotland and Ireland and elsewhere for considerable reinforcements, in order to hem in the Welsh and smash them up once for all, like potters' vessels. But Llewelyn, on the advice of his chiefs, sent a special embassy to the king asking for terms of peace, but always on condition that they should peacefully keep their ancient laws and liberties, as had ever been their custom, and that they should be the subjects, not of Edward or anyone else, but of the king, and that they should answer to him alone; for the rest, they stated plainly that they would not allow themselves to be given away and sold like cattle and asses. But this moderate request, made with humble entreaties, the king did not grant, but, encouraging his troops, marched further against them every day; and spreading his royal banner, as if it were a dragon sparing none, he threatened the destruction of all Wales.

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Towards the end of autumn, when winter had already begun to shorten the days and bring on the cold, and the greatest scarcity had fallen upon the royal army, our lord the king, on the advice of his courtiers, who were indignant at having to endure this want of supplies, returned from the neighbourhood of Chester on the road to London, in order to take part in the festival of the Translation of

St. Edward [October 13]. His march was for a long time dogged by Llewelyn, in order that if he met any stragglers from the king's army he might attack and slay them. And so the king, after wasting much treasure, the object of his enemies' laughter and contempt, returned ingloriously to his own safer clime. But among his own troops he marched in a handsome suit of armour, and spreading the royal banner, he was keen in cheering on his fellow-warriors to slaughter the Welshmen, the off-scourings of humanity.

67. THE PARLIAMENT OF LONDON, 1258.

1258.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 676 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

And on the day after the Tuesday commonly called Hocketide [April 2] a parliament was held at London. For the king was worried about many important matters in connection with the affair of the kingdom of Sicily, for Master Herlot had been sent to him on a special embassy to demand a precise and definite answer on this matter. He demanded also a vast sum of money, which the pope had pledged himself to pay to merchants on the king's behalf, at the king's own urgent request, under pains and penalties which I think it shameful to rehearse. Now the sum of money had mounted to such a total, that it produced amazement and horror in the ears of those who heard how great it was. The nobles of the realm therefore were grieved that they had been so confounded by the abject stupidity of one man. Moreover, our

lord the king was deeply pained because the Welsh boasted that they had inflicted grievous loss upon him, and repulsed him and his whole army, and had often won the day in pitched battles against all the nobility of England. And as the crowning point of his wrath and indignation he had heard that the Welsh, on the expiration of the truce on St. Alphege's Day [April 19], had spread plunder, slaughter and fire far and wide, and had attacked the men of Pembrokeshire, slaying great numbers of them, and offering the worst insults to those whom they had allowed to escape with their lives. In consequence of this William de Valence had laid urgent complaints before the king, and the king had replied: 'Then, my dear brother, spend your wealth, of which you have plenty, to avenge our wrongs.' But William, heaping threat on threat and adding insult to injury, maintained that all this had been treacherously brought about by the connivance and favour of English traitors. And shortly afterwards he narrowed his vague general statements by making specific charges against the honour of many nobles. Accordingly the earls of Gloucester and Leicester were greatly shamed and put to the blush. And still multiplying his charges against the earl of Leicester, to the effect that he had long been traitor and liar, he dared in the presence of the king and many nobles to maintain these insults in public. But the earl of Leicester, blazing with anger, answered in high wrath: 'No, no, William! I am neither a traitor nor the son of a traitor: our fathers were men of a different stamp.'

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And at that same time the nobles had replied with firm insistence that they could not possibly, without working their irretrievable ruin, continue to pour out their little substance, as they had so often done, to such little profit; and if, without asking advice and against all propriety, he had accepted from the pope the kingdom of Apulia for his son Edmund, he must blame his own simplicity; and seeing that he had acted so precipitately, against the advice of his own nobles, in contempt of all prudence and judgment, he must conclude the matter as best he could.

68. THE MAD PARLIAMENT.

1258.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 695 [Rolls]. *Flo1.* 1235-
1259.

Shortly before the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle [June 11] the magnates and nobles of the land hastened to the parliament to be held at Oxford, and ordered all those who owed them service to go with them in arms, as though to defend them against the attacks of enemies. And this they did, giving as an excuse for coming armed in this way their apparent readiness to march to Wales against the king's enemies. As a matter of fact, they were greatly afraid that, owing to the differences of parties, civil war might break out, and that the king and his Poitevin brothers would call in foreigners to help him against his natural subjects. The magnates therefore took precautions beforehand and had the ports guarded. At the opening of parliament the

design and unalterable policy of the nobles was confirmed by a resolute demand that our lord the king should faithfully keep and observe the Charter of the liberties of England, which his father John had drawn up and granted to the English people and had sworn to keep. This Charter king Henry III. had often confirmed and sworn to keep, and had caused those who violated it to be excommunicated by all the bishops of England in his own presence and in that of all the baronage, and had himself joined in the sentence of excommunication. Moreover, they demanded the appointment of a justiciary to do justice to those who suffered wrong, impartially to poor and rich alike. They petitioned also for some other things of importance to the realm, making for the common good of king and kingdom, for peace and honour. They asked our lord the king to act according to their advice and necessary provisions, and to come to them at all times for advice; and they pledged their faith on oath, and shook hands upon it, that they would not fail to carry out their design for any loss of money or lands, or even to save the life of themselves or their friends. On recognizing this the king swore to second their designs, and his son Edward bound himself by the same oath. . . .

[The king's Poitevin relations refused to take the oath, and fled to Æthelmar, bishop-elect of Winchester.]

Meanwhile the nobles, more firmly leagued together, appoint as justiciar a native free-born Englishman, a renowned soldier with great knowledge of the laws of England, Hugh Bigod, brother

of the earl marshal, and he, in the energetic performance of his duties as justiciar does not allow any weakness to be shown in the rights of the kingdom. And when the magnates had received more certain news of the flight of the Poitevins they were afraid lest they should get to the sea, and so call in foreigners to their aid, Poitevins and others from oversea. Seeing, therefore, the danger of delay, they gave strict orders to all their retainers and followers to fly to arms and take to horse at once. So ends the Parliament of Oxford, without any definite and positive conclusion.

69. LETTER FROM EYE-WITNESS OF PROCEEDINGS AT OXFORD.

1258. Translated from Latin of Annals of Burton,
p. 443 [Rolls]. *Temp.* Henry III.

Greeting. Know that in the parliament at Oxford Hugh Bigod was made justiciar of England, and that he swore that he would do justice to all complainants, and that this he would not fail to do for king or queen or their children, or any living soul, or for anything whatsoever, or for hatred or love or prayer or price; and that he will not receive anything from anyone, save such meat and drink as are usually brought to a rich man's table.

Afterwards all the castles of our lord the king were entrusted to certain Englishmen—formerly nearly all of them had been in the hands of foreigners—and then, when these clauses had been settled, it was agreed by twenty-four sworn men that, because the king was poor—and so if he or the realm were attacked

by any neighbouring prince, he and his realm would be exposed to grave danger, resulting perhaps in the total ruin of the country—all lands, tenements, and castles, alienated by him from the crown, should be restored to him. This clause was opposed by the king's Poitevin brothers and some of their English supporters, as Henry of Almayne and John Warrenne, who all withdrew to Winchester, except Henry of Almayne, without permission. But he, when the barons demanded his oath of allegiance to their provisions, replied that he held no land save at his father's pleasure, and he therefore refused, without consulting him, to take any oath which he ought not, especially as he was not one of their peers. He was, therefore, granted forty days' consideration in which to consult his father. . . .

[The barons proceed to besiege the Poitevins at Winchester, and demand either an oath to observe the provisions or their withdrawal from the kingdom. The Poitevins fled the country on July 14.]

And afterwards the lord Edward was with the greatest difficulty persuaded to submit to the ordinance and the provision of the barons; and they appointed for him four counsellors: John Baliol, John Gray, Stephen Longsword, and Roger Montague. They will shortly provide for the state of his household and the king's. The king often asked them that none should be about him but English; and so it shall be. The barons have great and difficult matters to provide for, which will not admit of a speedy or easy ending and result. For shortly, together with the king, they will at London provide for

many matters concerning the foreigners, Romans, merchants, usurers, and others. The barons also are vigorously striving to depose and put out of his office the bishop-elect of Winchester. They go fiercely about their business; may they make a good issue!

70. THE PROVISIONS OF OXFORD.

1258.

Translated from Latin and Norman-French of Annals of Burton, p. 446 [Rolls.]. *Temp.* Henry III.

It was provided that from every shire there should be elected four discreet and legal knights, who, on whatever day the shire-court is held, should meet to hear all complaints about all misdemeanours and wrongs charged against all persons by sheriffs, bailiffs, or any others, and to make the necessary arrests in respect thereof, till the first coming of a chief justice to those parts. And that they should take sufficient surety from complainant and defendant for their appearance and submission to the law in that justice's court on his first coming. And that these four knights should have all these complaints and arrests enrolled duly and in order, this by each hundred separately by itself. And that the aforesaid justice on his first coming should be able to hear and decide these complaints under seal from every hundred. And that they should inform the sheriff that he is to bring before the justice on his next coming, on a day and at a place to be notified, all their hundred-men and bailiffs; and that every hundred-man should bring all complainants and

defendants from his bailiwick, in succession, according to the pleas the justice should have thought fit to hear from that hundred; and bring too as many and such men—knights as well as other free and legal men of his bailiwick—as shall be able best to establish the truth of the matter, so that all be not disturbed together at the same time, but that as many appear as can have their case heard and decided in one day.

Also, it was provided that no knight of the shire should, by reason of exemption from serving on juries or assizes, be held excused by showing the king's charter, but that he should not be exempt as far as these provisions are concerned, which are thus ordained for the common good of all the realm.

The lord bishop of London; the lord bishop-elect of Winchester; the lord Henry, son of the king of the Romans; the lord John earl Warrenne; the lord Guy of Lusignan; the lord William of Valence; the lord John earl of Warwick; lord John Mansel; brother John of Darlington; the abbot of Westminster; the lord Henry Wingham.

The lord bishop of Worcester; the lord Simon, earl of Leicester; the lord Richard, earl of Gloucester; the lord Humphrey, earl of Hereford; the lord Roger Marshal; the lord Roger Mortimer; the lord John FitzGeoffrey; the lord Hugh Bigod; the lord Richard Gray; the lord William Bardolf; the lord Peter de Montfort, the lord Hugh Despenser.

And if any of them is unable of necessity to act, the remainder shall choose any they wish in the

*Those chosen
on the part of
our lord the
king.*

*Those chosen
on the part of
the earls and
barons.*

place of the absent member to transact this business.

We, so and so, make known to all men that we have sworn on the holy Gospels, and are held

This is the Commonalty of England swore at Oxford, together by such an oath, and promise in good faith, that each of us and all together will aid one another, ourselves and our friends, against all men, doing

right and undertaking nothing that we cannot without doing ill, saving faith to king and the crown. And we promise on the same oath that none of us will henceforth take from each other any land or property by which this oath can be disturbed or in any way impaired. And if any do contrary to this we will hold him our mortal foe.

Each swore on the holy Gospels that he, to the honour of God and on his faith to the king, and to the profit of the realm, will ordain and

This is the Oath of the Twenty-four. treat with the sworn men aforesaid on the reformation and amendment of the state of the realm. And that he will not fail for gift, or promise, or love or hate, or fear of any, or gain or loss, loyally to act according to the tenour of the letter which the king has given for this, and his son with him.

[Next come the oaths taken by the chief justice, the chancellor, and the keepers of the king's castles; then follow the names of those sworn of the king's council and the committee of four elected by them with power to nominate a council for the approval of the twenty-four.]

Be it remembered that the state of Holy Church be amended by the twenty-four elected to reform the

state of the realm of England, when they shall see
Of the State time and place therefor, according to the
of Holy Church. power they have to do so by the letter
 of the king of England.

Moreover that there be a justice, one or two, and
 what power he shall have, and that he be for no
Of the Chief more than a year. So that at the end of
Justice the year he answer before the king and
 his council and his successor for his time.

[There follow similar provisions for the treasurer and the
 chancellor.]

The chief justice has power to amend the wrongs
 done by all other justices, bailiffs, earls, barons, and
Of the Power all others, according to the law and
of the Justice justice of the land. And the writs shall
and Bailiffs be pleaded, according to the law of the
 land, in fit and proper places. And the justice
 shall take nothing, save presents of bread and wine
 and such things, to wit meat and drink, such as has
 been accustomed to be brought to the tables of great
 men for the day. And this shall be understood of
 all the king's counsellors and his bailiffs. And that
 no bailiff, by reason of plea or of his office, take any
 fee, by himself or by any other, in any way. And if
 he be convicted, he shall be punished, and he who
 gives as well. And if it be fitting, the king shall
 give to his justice and his servants sufficient that they
 have no need to take anything from anyone else.

[The qualifications and duties of the sheriffs are next given.]

There shall be good escheators appointed. And
 they shall take nothing of the property of the dead,

of such lands as ought to be in the king's hand. And

Of the Escheators that the escheators shall have free administration of the goods until they shall

have done the king's will, if they owe him debts. And that according to the form of the Charter of Liberty.

. . . And no tallage or aught else shall be taken, save such as should be by the Charter of Liberty.

The Charter of Liberty shall be firmly kept. . . .

It is to be remembered that the twenty-four have ordained that three parliaments be held a year : the

Of the Parliaments — the Number and Manner of holding them. first in the octave of St. Michael, the second on the morrow of Candlemas, the third on the first day of June, to wit three weeks before St. John's Day. To

these three parliaments shall come the king's elected councillors, even if they be not summoned, to see the state of the realm and to deal with the common needs of the realm and the king likewise ; and at other times likewise, when need shall be, by the king's commands.

So it is to be remembered that the commonalty elect twelve good men, who shall come to the parliaments and other times as needs shall arise, when the king and his council shall command them to treat of the needs of king and kingdom. And that the commonalty shall hold as established what these twelve shall do. And that shall be done to spare the cost of the commonalty.

Fifteen shall be named by these four—to wit, by the earl marshal, the earl of Warwick, Hugh Bigod, and John Mansel, who are elected by the twenty-four to name the aforesaid fifteen, who shall be the king's council. And they shall be confirmed

by the aforesaid twenty-four, or by the greater part of them. And they shall have power to counsel the king in good faith for the government of the realm; and everything appertaining to the king and realm, and to amend and redress all the things they shall see to need redress and amendment; and over the chief justice and over all other people. And if they cannot all be present, that which the majority shall do shall be firm and established.

[At the end comes a list of the king's castles and their custodians.]

71. THE KING'S ADHESION TO THE PROVISIONS.

1258.

Done into modern English from the
English of 'Fœdera,' i. 378.

Henry, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, to all his loyal subjects, clerk and lay, in Huntingdonshire, greeting. Know ye all well that we will and grant that which our councillors, all or the majority of them, that be chosen by us and by the folk of the land of our kingdom, have done and shall do to the honour of God and in loyalty to us, for the benefit of the land, by the provision of the aforesaid councillors, be steadfast and lasting in all things without end. And we command all our true men, in the troth that they owe us, that they steadfastly hold and swear to hold and defend the statutes that be made and are to be made by the aforesaid councillors, or by the majority of them as is aforesaid; and that each help other that for to do by the same oath, against all men, right for to do and

to receive; and let no one take of land or of goods whereby this provision may be hindered or damaged in any wise. And if any person or persons transgress herein, we will and command that our loyal subjects hold them as deadly foes. And for that we will that this be steadfast and lasting, we send you this writ open, with our seal thereto, to keep among you in store. Witness ourself at London, the eighteenth of October, in the forty-second year of our reign. And this was done before our sworn councillors: Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury; Walter of Cantelupe, bishop of Worcester; Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester; Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford; Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and marshal of England; Peter of Savoy; Williams of Fors, earl of Albemale; John of Plessis, earl of Warwick; John FitzGeoffrey; Peter de Montfort; Richard Gray; Roger Mortimer; James Audley; and before other enough.

And all in the same words is it sent into every other shire over all the kingdom of England, and also into Ireland.

72. QUARREL BETWEEN RICHARD DE CLARE AND SIMON DE MONTFORT.

1259.

Translated from Latin of Matthew
Paris, v. 744 [Rolls]. *Flor.* 1235-
1259.

At this time, too, while parliament was still suspended, and care was being taken to provide for wholesome statutes, angry words passed between the earls of Gloucester and Leicester, so that the earl

of Leicester, angered by the other's hesitation in their common design, spoke to him somewhat in this way: 'I do not care to live or mix with men who are so fickle and treacherous; for we have made promises and taken oaths to one another about these matters we are considering. And as for you, my lord of Gloucester, the higher your rank, the more you are bound by wholesome statutes'; and so he soon afterwards left England. But when the earl of Hereford and other nobles and their compeers heard of this, they let the earl of Gloucester know that it was through him that the earl of Leicester had left them, and that he should be conciliated and invited back at once to support his fellow-nobles, without being provoked by such wrongs, and that the earl of Gloucester himself ought faithfully to observe their statutes and oaths, and acquiesce in them, correcting, in accordance with them, abuses on his estates. If he refused, they would all unite and attack him. At this news the earl, in great alarm, sent Herwin, his seneschal, throughout all his estates to see that right was being done, as had been resolved and agreed, and that everything was being done without delay, according to the form of the new promise. Thus the storm to a large extent subsided, and although the earl of Leicester still remained oversea, yet, on account of this pacification and amendment, there arose a surer confidence in his happy return.

73. THE ESQUIREHOOD AND PRINCE EDWARD.

1259. Translated from Latin of Annals of Burton,
p. 471 [Rolls]. *Temp.* Henry III.

After the feast of St. Edward, king and confessor, had been royally celebrated at Westminster by our lord the king, a fortnight after Michaelmas, the community of the esquirehood of England informed the lord Edward, the king's son, the earl of Gloucester, and others sworn to the council of Oxford, that our lord the king had fully done and performed everything which the barons had drawn up in their provisions, and had imposed upon him to do; and that the barons had themselves done nothing for the country's good, as they had promised, but everything for their own advantage and the king's harm; and that unless some amendment of this were made, other means for reform would be taken. The lord Edward immediately replied for himself, that he had, against his will, taken an oath at Oxford, but that he was not on that account unprepared to abide willingly by his oath, and to expose himself to death for the commonalty of England and for the good of the country, according to the oath taken at Oxford. And he sternly informed the barons sworn to the council that unless they redeemed their oath he himself would stand to the death by the commonalty and make them redeem their promises. The barons, seeing at length that it was better for their promises to be fulfilled by themselves than by others, had their provisions published as follows.

[Here follow the Provisions of Westminster, which are largely concerned with the duties of sheriffs, feudal privileges,

itinerant justices, and the state of the forests. These provisions were afterwards included in the Statute of Marlborough, 1267.]

74. THE TREATY OF PARIS.

1259. Translated from Latin of Annals of
Waverley, p. 350 [Rolls]. *Con-
temporary.*

Although Henry III., king of England, had often tried to wrest from the hand of the king of France—sometimes by war, sometimes by entreaties, and by many other means—some great and wealthy estates in France belonging to him by hereditary right, which had been lost by his father John, king of England, on account of Arthur's murder, but could avail nothing by his own efforts; yet at length in this year, on the advice and intervention of many friends, he personally came to king Louis in peace, and humbly begged him of his kindness to have done with all controversy and surrender those lands. Louis, in order to maintain for the future their mutual affection in Christ, granted his petitions without any difficulty, and freely gave him these lands, when he did homage to him for them in the presence of archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and some others.

75. THE BARONS' WARS.

1264. Translated from Latin of Annals of
Waverley, p. 355 [Rolls]. *Con-
temporary.*

In this year a battle was fought between king Henry III. and certain barons of the realm at Lewes,

the circumstances of which we have thought right to give here briefly and summarily, in order that posterity may not be ignorant of them.

The king was relying far too much on the counsel of aliens, who made light of the great nobles of the realm, and drove them from the king's councils, in many matters ruling as they pleased. Hence arose indignation against the aliens and disturbances, as a result of which the king and leading nobility met at Oxford, and effected a settlement between them, by which they could reform evil laws; and these provisions they all swore to observe—king, earls, barons, even about a hundred of them; and the bishops took this oath, too, and excommunicated all who broke it. However, some tried to get absolution from this oath, and sent to the pope, asking not to be held to these provisions, and so they thought that by a papal bull they would be relieved of their oath, and did not consider that it was their duty to work for the effect of these provisions to result in the common good of the realm, and that therefore no one should infringe them. Now, as a matter of fact, these provisions at first were approved by the queen, seeing that certain wild spirits of whom she disapproved were compelled to leave England; but when she understood that her fellow-countrymen were to be expelled the realm, she persuaded the king that the provisions should no longer hold; and the king, immediately listening to this persuasion, drew over to his opinion his eldest son and all others he could. Moreover, John Mansel, a clerk of the court, serving the queen's wishes to the best of his power, by entreaty or bribery, attracted some to the side of the

perjured, and it was for this that he lost good name and world's gear, and died in exile. The other side, who refused to turn, were indignant at this, and threatened those who had broken their oath. On the other hand, their opponents gave them no peace, but did their best to stir up feud and enmity. In short, this quarrel became so bitter that, now that the previous agreement had been violated by one side, the factions rose against each other and attacked one another most violently, looting and plundering, setting fire to the noblest palaces and razing castles to the ground. When the kingdom was in such confusion, every day some evil was brought to light, which, as some thought, could only be settled by arms; so the king got together an army and marched hurriedly to the Cinque Ports, and laid siege to three of them, in order to get a firmer hold over them, as they did seem to be ready to obey his will; and on learning this the party of the right-minded—that is to say, the ever-respected lord Simon, earl of Leicester, and Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, with their supporters, also hastened to march to the ports. And at this news the king came with his army from the ports to Lewes.

76. THE MISE OF AMIENS.

1264.

Translated from Latin of 'Thomas Wykes'
Chronicle, p. 138 [Rolls]. *Contem-
porary.*

So, after frequent negotiations had been carried on between the two parties, about the feast of the Nativity, the king and all his friends and supporters,

the earl and all his followers, the king of the Romans, the lord Edward, the earls, barons, knights, archbishops, bishops, all prelates of churches—nay, all the clergy and people—unanimously promised the king of France, in reference to all the disagreements that had arisen between the king and his nobles on account of the Provisions of Oxford, that whatever ordinance or decision he should make in the matter of these provisions or statutes, in high or low alike, without any exception whatever, both sides would inviolably abide by it. And in order that none should be able to clear himself of perjury or non-fulfilment of his promises, all and every one added force to the promise they made by affixing their seals thereto, and, moreover, severally swore on the consecrated relics in no way to depart from this ordinance and judgment, provided that the king gave his verdict in this matter about Easter. Now, the king on the third day of the Nativity crossed over to France, in order to be present in person at this judgment. The barons also sent lord Adam of Newmarket and lord William le Blunde and a few others on behalf of all of them on the same business into France. Thereupon the king of France, eager to issue his award, in order to have done with both parties and send them home, on January 23, with possibly less wisdom and utility than might be expected, with wonderful precipitancy brought out his award, and strengthened it by the authority of the pope. By his judgment he restored the king of England to his former power, and absolutely abrogated and quashed the Provisions or Statutes of Oxford, deciding that the king should choose as his justiciar, chancellor,

treasurer, sheriffs, bailiffs, councillors and officers any he wished. The king therefore returned home, and in proportion to the joy he had experienced at this issue was the sorrow and confusion he caused the barons, who, violating the oath they had taken, did not blush not only to repudiate the judgment given, but even to attack the king again, and in their usual kind of rioting to get men together, and waste provinces, and harry their opponents more violently than ever.

77. THE BATTLE OF LEWES: A ROYALIST ACCOUNT.

1264.

Translated from Latin of 'Thomas Wykes'
Chronicle, p. 149 [Rolls]. *Contem-
porary.*

The king of England, trusting in the number of his supporters, and despising the scanty forces of the enemy, under the idea that they would not venture to attack him, was so ill advised as to command all and every one of them to renew their homage to him and his brother, king of the Romans; but the earl and his supporters were so indignant at this that they at once renounced their fealty and homage to the king; and on May 14, on the Wednesday next before the feast of St. Dunstan, the recreants, with unparalleled wickedness, prepared to do battle with their king, and at daybreak put their squadrons in position, and drew up their lines for battle. The royalists were ignorant of their movements. It might be thought the enemy expected to take them in their beds, for they made their way under cover of thick

woods, and with standards spread marched under the earl's command to the slope of a hill adjacent to the neighbouring town of Lewes, where the king, in great alarm, at that time lay; but some of the royalists were aroused and, observing the standards, gave the alarm to the king and all his army, then in their beds asleep; and they, rising in amazement, with all speed, as best they could, armed themselves and went out to meet this unrighteous host. Straightway the bugles sounded, and the hostile armies, with fierce looks, charged one another. But the earl was careful to secure that the whole weight of the fight was centred against the king of England and the king of the Romans, who were in command of the whole army. However, the lord Edward, who had under him the flower of the army, left his father and uncle, and with all the troops in his command went against the Londoners, against whom he had a special grudge, in order thus to avenge not only his own, but his father's and his mother's wrongs.

The large body of Londoners, inexperienced in war, were under the leadership of Henry Hastings, who was one of the first to let his terror get the better of his bravery, and fled from the field; and they thought it safer to trust to the chance of flight than to wait for the hazardous fortune of war. And so they left the earl of Leicester's horse-litter, on which, if I may say so, he had somewhat dishonourably planted his standard, in order that he might be thought to be resting in it, as though disabled or sick; and in it he had put some citizens of London—namely, Augustin of Hadestock, Richard Pickard,



VIEW OF LEWES.

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and Stephen of Chelmsford, who, in order not to appear disloyal, refused to don breastplate against our lord the king—in order that he might expose them as cowards or traitors, and so make victims of them ; and when they saw the lord Edward with his troopers boldly making for them with drawn swords, and observed how inferior they were to him, they straightway turned their backs and, following the afore-mentioned Henry at full gallop, staked their safety absolutely on flight. But the lord Edward, after most cruelly butchering those who had been put in the horse-litter, did not hesitate to pursue the rest of the fugitives at the top of his speed ; and all he could reach by riding after them at the gallop he slew at the point of the sword, and after sating his blade with their blood—not to his contentment, however—he returned to the battle so exhausted by hard riding—as, indeed, were also his followers in the pursuit, horses and all—as scarcely to be able to breathe. Meanwhile the king of England and the king of the Romans, whom he had left to themselves, were surrounded by far superior numbers, and when, after a stubborn tussle, they were no longer strong enough to resist the attacks of the surrounding foe, they took refuge in the conventual church, and, sad to tell, were compelled to surrender to the recreants, who, they supposed, would assuredly come dutifully to their aid to prevent them from being killed. And after their capture all who fled into the town threw down their arms so as to share in the misfortune of the kings, and without striking another blow, surrendered of their own accord to the same captors. Even the lord Edward, along with his kinsman, the

lord Henry, eldest son of the king of the Romans, was so overcome with weariness that he was able to fight no further, and seeing that there was no one left to help him, he did not blush to share his father's fortune.

78. THE BATTLE OF LEWES: A BARONIAL ACCOUNT.

1264

Translated from Latin of Annals of Waverley, p. 356 [Rolls]. *Contemporary.*

The king came from the Cinque Ports to Lewes with an army of nearly 60,000 fighting men; and on the better side [*i.e.*, the baronial] there were 50,000 men, under vigorous leaders, but for the most part quite young. They were joined by the Londoners, who, however, had very little experience in fighting; for at the first sight of it they turned to flight. Now, the baronial party wrote to the king that they would gladly serve him; but the king wrote back, without the usual courtesies, and informed them that he was quite indifferent as to their service, but that he reckoned them his enemies and defied them as public foes. Also Edward, the king's eldest son, and his uncle Richard, formerly called king of the Romans, informed them that they would destroy their property and lives and their friends' as well. The baronial party were saddened at this, for they were anxious for peace and made many offers to secure it; but they were all rejected with scorn by the king's councillors, who threatened to ruin the barons utterly. Since, therefore, they could obtain peace neither by their

offers nor by their emissaries, they prepared for war, and ascending the slope of a hill, they looked down on to the town in which their enemy lay, and would have taken them in their beds, but were prevented from doing so by the chivalry of some among them. For these said: 'Let us await them here and give them time to get up; for if we attacked them in their sleep, we should do ourselves dishonour.' So while they awaited them, they made some new knights, and drew up their men in position, till they saw the enemy approaching.

Right at the beginning of the fight the Londoners took to flight, and were pursued by Edward with a numerous following of knights, by whom a great number of the fugitives were slain. Meanwhile, however, the king was captured; for while his followers were intent on booty—horses, armour, and so forth—the king was overpowered, along with some great nobles; but most of these took to flight and left their lord on the field. Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, took the king captive, for the king then held him as a greater and more powerful noble than the others, and gave him his sword in token of surrender; and this was because the lord Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, was high in his displeasure. However, it was to this earl that the best men on that side surrendered. After this had taken place, Edward, ceasing his pursuit of the Londoners, returns, thinking that he and his followers had gained a victory; but he was met by the victors, who had now set fire to the town, and though at sight of them Edward's men tried to escape, yet most of them were slain and many knights got into the

priory, changing their armour for cassocks. Edward also, followed by numbers of his men, threw himself into the church of the Franciscans. Some, too, in fleeing by a bridge hindered each other's flight, so that many crowded together and were drowned; those who did escape hastened oversea. The number of those slain in the battle amounted to nearly 3,000 gallant men, not counting those slain before the fight nor those drowned. This battle took place on May 14.

79. SONG AGAINST THE KING OF ALMAYNE.

1264. Modernized from 'Political Songs,' p. 69
[*Camden Society*].

[Richard of Cornwall took refuge in a windmill after the defeat at Lewes.]

Sit ye all still and hearken to me.
The king of Almayne, by my fealtec,
Thirty thousand pound asked he
For to make the peace in the countrie,
 and so he did more.
Richard, though thou be ever traitor,
 betray shalt thou never more.

Richard of Almayne, while that he was king,
He spent all his treasure on gross living;
Have he not of Walingford one furlong:
Let him have, as he brews, bale [evil] to drink
 maugre Windsor.

Richard, though thou be ever traitor,
 betray shalt thou never more.

The king of Almayne would do full well,
They seized the mill for a castle ;
With their sharp sword they ground the steel,
They thought the sails were mangonel
to help Windsor.

Richard, though thou be ever traitor,
betray shalt thou never more.

The king of Almayne gathered his host,
He made him a castle of a mill-post ;
He went with his pride and his muckle boast,
Brought from Almayne many a sorry ghost [soul]
to store Windsor.

Richard, though thou be ever traitor,
betray shalt thou never more.

By God that is above us, he did much sin,
That let pass over-sea the earl of Warenne :
He hath robbed England, the moor and the fen—
The gold and the silver—and borne them hence,
for love of Windsor.

Richard, though thou be ever traitor,
betray shalt thou never more.

Sir Simon de Montfort hath sworn by his chin,
Had he now here the earl of Warenne,
Should he never more come to his inn,
Nor with shield, nor with spear, nor with other gin,
to help of Windsor.

Richard, though thou be ever traitor,
betray shalt thou never more.

Sir Simon de Montfort hath sworn by his cop [head]
 Had he here now sir Hugh de Bigot,
 So he should pay here twelvemonth's scot,
 Should he never more with his feet pot [tramp]
 to help Windsor.

Richard, though thou be ever traitor,
 betray shalt thou never more.

Like it or like it not, sir Edward,
 Thou shalt ride spurless on thy lyard [hack]
 All the right way to Dover-ward;
 Shalt thou never more break fore-ward [covenant],
 and that rueth sore;

Edward, thou did'st as a shreward [shrew]
 forsookest thine uncle's lore.

Richard, though thou be ever traitor,
 betray shalt thou never more.

80. THE MISE OF LEWES.

1264.

Translated from the Latin of Thomas
 Wykes' Chronicle, p. 152 [Rolls].
Contemporary.

On the morrow the victors met to consider what was to be done with the captives. And so the earl, by favour of God, whose judgments are hidden, got a mighty victory, and because he was able to make any arrangement he wished, with none to gainsay him, he extorted an oath from the king and the lord Edward, which was taken too by the earl himself and his supporters. He published an ordinance, which someone called by the unusual name of the Mise of Lewes, and to it he affixed the seals of our lord the

king and lord Edward, together with his own and his accomplices'. In this document it was laid down that the lord Edward and the lord Henry, eldest son of the king of the Romans, should be held as hostages for the marchers and others who had not been captured in the war, till such time as the settlement of our realm should be effected by five nobles of the realm of France, mentioned by name, and by those they thought fit to associate with them; while everybody thought that this matter was being done honourably, without treachery; but this was unnecessary, as the protest was absolutely justified that the ordinance had been made with every care. Why say more? The earl immediately handed over his illustrious hostages to the keeping of the lord Henry de Montfort, his eldest son, and he caused them to be guarded with less honour than suited their rank—not like hostages, but like captives—partly in Dover Castle and partly elsewhere. The king of the Romans and his young son Edmund he treated shamefully in the strictest confinement. Nearly all the nobles of the realm who had previously been on the side of the king he made captive, and imprisoned them in castles and loaded them with chains.

81. THE ESCAPE OF PRINCE EDWARD.

1265. Modernized from Robert of Gloucester, ii.,
p. 756, l. 11,546 [Rolls]. *Contemporary.*

Sir Simon de Montfort, wise man though he were,
Bade that men sir Edward great reverence bear,
For to play up and down, as in company;

So that there was a guile agreed upon, as through
good spying
Sir Edward bade sir Simon that he [should] him give
To spur steeds without the town, leave.
Leave him was granted, God wot to what end,
So that sir Edward without town gan wend.
A steed he gan to spur, well for the mastery,
And with him had of knights a fair company ;
And afterwards he took another, and weary them
made anon ;
And afterwards he took the third, best of each one.
As it was first arranged, to which he should trust
He spurred it first softly, as him little lust ;
When he was a little from that folk, with spur he
smote to ground ;
The sides run a-blood in a little time.
Thereas of steeds a good and quick men found.
Forth went this good knight. When he was out of
hand,
' Lordings,' he said, ' have now good day,
And greet ye well my father the king ; and I shall,
if I may,
See him well betime and out of ward him do.'
What needeth long tale ? He escaped so,
And to the castle of Wigmore his way soon he took ;
There was joy and bliss enow, when he thither came.

82. THE BATTLE OF EVESHAM.

1265.

Translated from Latin of Annals of
Waverley, p. 364 [Rolls]. *Con-
temporary.*

So Simon, earl of Leicester, in ignorance of the critical position of his son Simon, left the neighbourhood of Hereford and boldly crossed the Severn on the feast of St. Peter in Chains [August 2], which was a Sunday, and, halting on the morrow at Kempsey, made his plans for cutting off Edward and Gilbert of Clare on the one side, while his son cut them off on the other. So on Tuesday morning, August 4, he marched quickly in the direction of Evesham. And when the king had arrived there with his followers, he wanted to have breakfast; and this was done, but Simon de Montfort refused to take any food there. So, after the king's breakfast, they all marched on towards Kenilworth, and Simon de Montfort thought that his son Simon was on his way to meet them. When they got outside the town of Evesham he was attacked by Edward with a large army, and immediately the king, seeing his son the lord Edward, left Simon de Montfort, and the battle began on either side; and there fell in it the veteran lord Simon, earl of Leicester, the lord Henry his son, and lord Hugh Despenser, lord Peter de Montfort, lord Ralph Bassett, and many others. But the lord Simon de Montfort had his head cut off, and was torn limb from limb, and thus, as we believe, achieved the glorious crown of martyrdom for the peace of the land and the reformation of realm and Mother Church, because, if he

wished, he could very easily have escaped to Kenilworth.

83. THE BATTLE OF EVESHAM.

1265. Modernized from Robert of Gloucester, ii.
p. 762, l. 11,668 [Rolls] *Contemporary*.

Then was sir Simon his father at Hereford i-wis,
With many good men of England, and also of
Wales;

He went out of Hereford with fair host enow,
And toward Kenilworth to meet his son he drew.
And 'twas the purpose of both to enclose their foes,
As one saith, in either half, and to disgrace them
each one.

So that sir Simon the old came the Monday, i-wis,
To a town beside Worcester, that Kempsey called is;
The Tuesday to Evesham he went in the morning,
And there he let [to] him and his folk, priests masses
sing,

And thought to wend northward, his son for to meet,
But the king would not a step, till he dined or ate.
And sir Simon the young and his host at Alcester
were,

And would not thence a step, ere they dined there.
This to diners doleful was, alas,
For many was the good body that there-through
slain was.

Sir Edward and his power soon came to ride
To the north half of the town, battle for to abide.
When sir Simon it knew and they that with him
were,

Soon they let them arm, and their banners uprear;

The bishop Walter of Worcester assoiled them all
there,
And preached to them, that they had of death the
less fear.

Their way against their foes in God's behalf they
took,
And thought that sir Simon the young to meet them
came.

When they came into the field, and sir Simon saw
Sir Edward's host and others all so nigh,
He disposed the host right well, and through God's
grace

He hoped win, that day, the mastery of the place.
Then saw he there beside, as he beheld about
The earl's banner of Gloucester and him, with all his
rout,

As him for to enclose, on the other half i-wis.
'Lo,' he said, 'ready folk and full wary is this,
And more cunning of battle than they were before;
Our souls,' he said, 'God take! for our bodies are
theirs.'

'Sir Henry,' he said to his son, 'this hap is due to
thy pride;

Were thy brother arrived, hope we might yet.'
They committed life and soul to God's grace each one,
And into battle smote fast among their foes,
And as good knights to ground slew anon,
That their foes fled soon, thick many a one.
Sir Warin of Basingburn, when he this did see,
Forward he gan spur, and to shout on high:
'Back, traitors, back, and have it in your thought
How vilely at Lewes ye were to ground y-brought.
Turn back, and bethink you that the power all ours is,

And we shall as for nought overcome our foes, i-wis.
 Then was the battle strong on either side, alas !
 But at the end went down the side that feebler was.
 And sir Simon was slain and his folk all to ground.
 More murder was never before in so little time ;
 For there was first Simon de Montfort slain, alas !
 And sir Henry his son, that so gentle knight was ;
 And sir Hugh de Despenser, the noble justice ;
 And sir Peter de Montfort, that strong was and wise ;
 Sir William de Perons, and sir Ralph Basset also ;
 Sir John de St. John, and sir John Dive too ;
 Sir William Trussell ; sir Gilbert of Enfield ;
 And many good men were slain there in that field ;
 And among all others, most ruth it was ido,
 That sir Simon the old man dismembered was so.
 For sir William Mautravers—thanks have he none—
 Carved off his feet and hands and his limbs many one.
 And his head they smote off and to Wigmore it sent,
 To dame Maud of Mortimer, that right foully it
 shent.

84. A HYMN IN HONOUR OF EARL SIMON.

1265.

Translated from Latin of copy in 'Political
 Songs,' p. 124 [*Camden Society*].

Hail, Simon, hail, our mount of strength,
 Fair knighthood's fairest flower,
 Protector of our English folk,
 Whom death doth now o'erpower.
 Ne'er did saint such travail know
 In this pilgrimage below,
 As this that thou did'st undergo.

Lo ! thy hands and feet they tore,
 Head and body wounded sore,
 All thy frame dismemberèd ;
 Now for us God's grace implore,
 Who for thy defence before
 Art on earth remembered.

85. THE DISINHERITED AND THE DICTUM OF KENILWORTH.

1266. Translated from Latin of Annals of
 Waverley, p. 371 [Rolls]. *Con-
 temporary.*

On the Monday before St. John the Baptist's Day [June 24] our lord the king sent his son, the lord Edward, with a numerous army from Warwick to besiege Kenilworth Castle. But a few made a sally from the castle and drove the enemy quickly back to Warwick. So the siege of the castle began on that day on which the king swore that he would not move thence till the castle was surrendered or stormed. About the feast of SS. Processus and Martinianus [July 2] the lord legate, with the archbishop of Canterbury and two legates, came from London to Kenilworth to make a sure peace between the king and the disinherited barons, and he remained there a fortnight without effecting anything. The result was that he excommunicated the garrison and all their adherents, and all who gave them aid or counsel or sympathized with them. At the same time the lord John d'Eyville, at the head of the disinherited, took the isle of Ely and the town, harassing and plundering the whole of Cambridge-

shire, killing the Jews there, and destroying everything, doing terrible mischief in every direction.

On St. Bartholomew's Day [Aug. 24] a great parliament was held at Kenilworth, where our lord king Henry granted his barons the ancient Charter, and demanded a tenth from the whole of the English Church for three years. The unanimous reply, approved by the legate, was that they should first secure peace by any possible means, and that they would afterwards give a reply to our lord the king on this matter. This was agreed to by the king. So provision was there made, with the assent of the king, Edward, the legate, bishops, abbots, and all the barons there present, that there should be chosen six men—three bishops and three native barons—and that these six should elect other six bishops and barons, natives and patriots; and if any dissension should arise among the twelve the legate and Henry, son of the king of the Romans, are to be joined to them and heal that dissension. [Here follow the names.]

Now our lord the king called all the bishops, abbots, priors, earls, and barons to Northampton on the Tuesday before the feast of All Saints [Nov. 1] to confirm the judgment of these twelve, and when their judgment was delivered all the disinherited were adjudged their lands; in such manner that their lands were to be redeemed, and that, according to the value of those lands they should pay a proportionate fine, some on a five years' assessment, some on four, some on three, and some on two, according to the extent of their guilt.

86. LLEWELYN MADE OVERLORD OF WALES

1267.

From the translation of the Welsh
Brut-y-Tywysogion, p. 355 [Rolls].
Probably contemporary.

The ensuing year Llewelyn, son of Griffith, confederated with earl Clare ; and then the earl marched with an immense army to London, and, through the treachery of the burgesses, he possessed himself of the town. And when king Henry and his son Edward were informed of this, they collected an immense army, and marched to London, and attacked it ; and upon conditions they compelled the earl and the burgesses to submit to them. After that, on the feast of pope Calixtus, peace was confirmed between king Henry and Llewelyn, son of Griffith, by Octobonus, the pope's legate, as arbitrator between them at Castle Baldwin, and on account of that compact Llewelyn, son of Griffith, promised the king ten and twenty thousand sterling marks. And the king granted that he should have the homage of all the barons of Wales, and that the barons should hold under him their property for ever ; and they were thenceforth to be called Princes of Wales. And in testimony thereof the king confirmed his charter to Llewelyn, with the consent of his heirs, bound by his seal and the seal of the said legate, and that was established by the authority of the Pope.

87. THE NEW CHURCH AT WESTMINSTER.

1269.

Translated from the Latin of Thomas
Wykes' Chronicle, p 226 [Rolls].
Contemporary.

Henry, king of England, moved by dutiful piety, would no longer suffer the venerable remains of the most blessed king Edward the Confessor—whom he preferred to all the other saints with a special devotion—to lie in a lowly spot ; so shining a light longer to lie hid under a bushel ; but in order that, raised aloft on a candlestick, it might shed more abundantly a spiritual light for them that come and go, on October 5, which fell in this year on a Sunday—on the very day, that is, on which he had been laid in his too poor tomb—all the prelates and magnates of England were called together, and the greater burgesses of all the cities of his realm, to lend distinction to the solemn rites of his translation. And in the presence of a great company of the people, too, he transferred those venerable relics from their ancient tomb, and, raising them up in the sight of this great multitude, he put them on his shoulders and those of his illustrious brother king of the Romans ; and, calling to help in the deed his noble sons the lords Edward and Edmund, the earl Warenne, Philip Bassett, and many other great men of the realm, as many as could lay their hands to the support of so noble a burden, he placed it with all due reverence in a golden tomb adorned with most precious stones in a very high position.

All this was done in the conventual church of the monastery of Westminster, which the king had

entirely built of most splendid workmanship, after removing the ancient church, which had been of no value at all, out of his privy purse ; and, indeed, it is seen so far to excel all other churches in the world in lavish decoration that it seems to be without a peer. On the same day the monks of Westminster celebrated within the new church for the first time ; and in the royal palace, after the completion of the translation service, there was so splendid a banquet that all wondered and were amazed.

88. EDWARD'S JOURNEY HOME.

1272.

Translated from Latin of Nicholas Trivet,
p. 284. *Contemporary*.

So, leaving the papal court, king Edward proceeded on his way through the Italian cities, and was received by their citizens with the greatest enthusiasm and distinction. When he was about to enter Savoy he was met, as he descended the mountains, by numerous English prelates and nobles ; and, after passing through Savoy, he was invited by the count of Châlons to the knightly contest, commonly called a tournament ; for the count and many others were very desirous of making practical trial of Edward's knightly prowess, the fame of which had now filled the whole world. Edward, graciously assenting to their wishes, had it proclaimed that he and his knights, albeit under the disadvantage of a long journey, were willing to meet the count and his friends, and any other knights who cared to come. So on an appointed day the sides met, and, plying their blows and sword-play one against the

other, made trial of their might. Now, the count, cutting his way through Edward's party, met him at



A JOUST OR TOURNAMENT OF ABOUT THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

close quarters, and after some time got alongside of him, and, throwing away his sword, threw his arms

round Edward's neck, and, tugging with all his might, tried to unhorse him. But Edward kept immovably erect in his saddle, and when he felt the count clinging to him rather tightly, he put spurs to his horse and drew the count out of his saddle. The count was still hanging to his neck, but Edward forcibly shook him off and hurled him to the ground. This angered the Burgundians, and now a trial of knightly skill turned into an attack of foemen; and what had been at first a game changed to real warfare, and as the other side insisted on getting even with them their attack was repulsed, and they were beaten and had to yield. Afterwards the count, somewhat recovered, again approached Edward, and, thinking that his friends had been angered on his account, yielded to him; and so, victory being adjudged to the strangers, both parties returned in peace to the city.

King Edward next came to France, where he was accorded a splendid reception by King Philip, and did homage to him for the lands he held of him, with a reservation about the restitution of the lands promised to his father, in exchange for Normandy. After this he set out for Gascony to repress a rebellion raised there by Gaston de Béarn, a powerful noble who had fallen away from his allegiance to Edward, his overlord. The latter attacked his lands with a powerful army, put Gaston to flight, and then besieged him in a strongly-fortified castle, where he had taken refuge.

89. THE ARRANGEMENTS DURING EDWARD'S ABSENCE.

1273

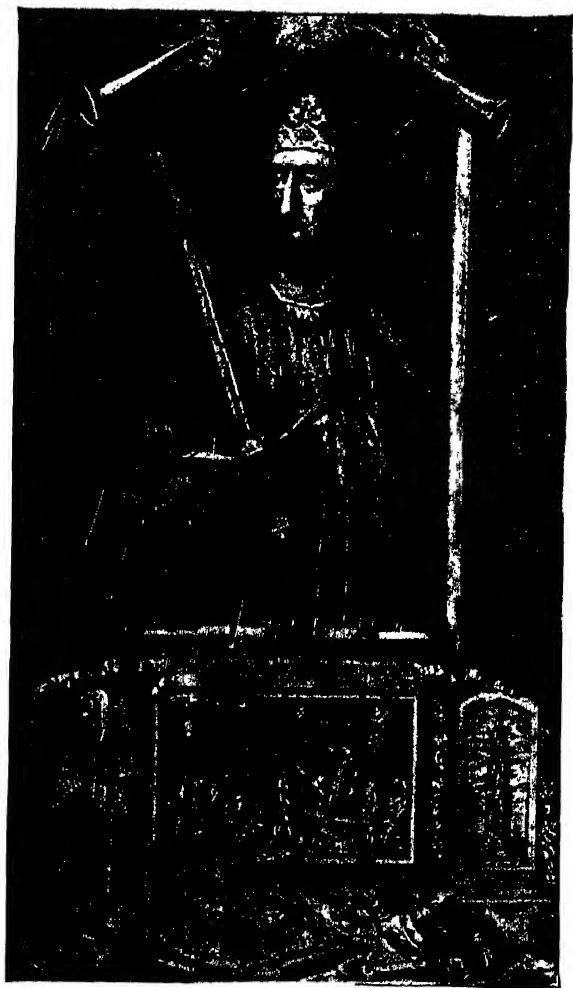
Translated from Latin of Annals of
Winchester, p. 113 [Rolls]. *Con-
temporary.*

In this year, after the feast of St Hilary [Jan. 13], an assembly of all the prelates and other magnates of the realm was held at Westminster, after the death of the illustrious king Henry, and there met together the archbishops and bishops, the earls and barons, the abbots and priors, four knights from every shire and four burgesses from every city; and they all, in the presence of Walter, archbishop of York, Roger Mortimer, and Robert Burnell, clerk, who governed England in place of Edward, king of England, took the oath to the said lord Edward as the ruler of the land, and received commands about loyally and firmly keeping the peace of the realm; and there lord Walter of Merton was appointed chancellor, and commanded to stay at Westminster, as in a public place, till the king's arrival; and it was there provided that there should be no itinerant justices till the king returned, but that they should sit in the King's Bench.

90. PERSONAL DESCRIPTION OF EDWARD I.

Translated from Latin of John of London's
Commendatio Lamentabilis, in 'Chronicles
of Edward I. and Edward II., vol. ii., p. 4
[Rolls]. *Circa 1307.*

You must know that king Edward was not ruddy or high-coloured, but of that blend of dark and fair which is a sign of a hot and dogged temperament;



EDWARD I.

and his complexion was hardly altered by age and greyness. He was tall and well built, so that, in walking with other people, he stood out head and shoulders above them, just as Saul of old time, the Lord's chosen servant, gladdened the heart of those who beheld the king walking. His head was round, the abiding-place of great wisdom and the special sanctuary of high counsel. His full round eyes were frank and dove-like when he was in happy mood, but in anger and when his lion heart was moved they flashed fire and lightened up fiercely. His hair was black and curly, and even in old age he had little to fear from baldness. He had a long, somewhat aquiline nose, and bowed legs; he was long-shanked, like a horseman, and had a full throat, strong shoulders—all signs of strength, daring, and activity. . . . Ever straight as a palm, he always maintained the nimbleness of youth in mounting or riding; and by keeping under grossness of physique by continual hard work he was hardly ever ill. . . . No one had a keener wit in counsel, a greater fluency in speaking, coolness in danger, restraint in success, constancy in failure. . . . His affections once pledged were rarely recalled, and if he once hated a man he seldom favoured him afterwards with his friendship.

91. THE DESTRUCTION OF LLEWELYN'S PRINCIPALITY.

1276-1277.

From the translation of the Welsh
'Brut-y-Tywysogion,' p. 365 [Rolls].
Probably contemporary.

The lord Llewelyn sent frequent messengers to the court of the king about forming a peace

between them, but he did not succeed. And at length, about the feast of Candlemas [February 2] the king appointed a council at Worcester, and there he designed three armies against Wales: one for Caerleon [Chester], and himself to lead it; another for Castle Baldwin [Montgomery], led by the earl of Lincoln and Roger Mortimer. Griffith, son of Gwenwynwyn, had fixed upon them to reconquer his territory, which he had previously lost, by refusing Cydewain and Ceri [Kerry] and Gwerthrynion and Builth to the king. And then the earl of Hereford got possession of Brecheinog [Brecon]. The third army he sent to Caermarthen and Ceredigion [Cardigan], led by Payne, son of Patrick de Saye.

The ensuing year [1277] the earl of Lincoln and Roger Mortimer besieged the castle of Dolvorwyn, and at the end of a fortnight they obtained it, through want of water. Then Rhys-ap-Meredith . . . became reconciled to Payne, son of Patrick. Llewelyn his brother and Howel and Rhys the Hoarse quitted their territory, and went to Gwynedd to Llewelyn; Rhys-ap-Maelgwn went to Roger Mortimer, and made submission to the king by the hand of Roger. And last of all, from South Wales, Griffith and Cynan, the sons of Meredith, son of Owen, son of Gryffith, son of the lord Rhys, and Llewelyn, son of Owen, his nephew, became reconciled to the king. And thus all South Wales became subjected to the king. [Payne of Chaworth had the like success in Cardiganshire.] . . . The same year, on the feast of St. James the Apostle [July 25], Edmund, the king's brother, came with an army to Llanbadarn, and began to build a castle

at Aberystwyth. And then the king, having his force with him, came to the midland district, and fortified a court at Flint, surrounded with vast dykes, and there he tarried some time. That year, the Saturday after August, Rhys-ap-Maelgwn retired to Gwynedd to Llewelyn, for fear of being taken by the English, who were at Llanbadarn; and thereupon the English took possession of his whole territory. And along with him the men of Genau y Glyn all retreated to Gwynedd, leaving the whole of their corn and land waste. . . . That year, in the beginning of harvest, the king sent a great part of his army into Mona [Anglesey], which burned much of the country and took away much of the corn. And on the calends of winter after that Llewelyn came to the king at Rhuddlan, and made his peace with him. . . .

92. EDWARD IN WALES.

1277.

Translated from Latin of Annals of Winchester, p. 124 [Rolls]. *Contemporary.*

In this year, in the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul [June 29], our lord king Edward set out for Wales, and on the eleventh of July he is reported to have marched out of Chester with his whole army towards Snowdon, establishing his exchequer at Shrewsbury. After lengthy negotiations for peace, Llewelyn came in on the feast of St. Martin [November 11], and submitted to our lord the king's pleasure and mercy at Rhuddlan, and, for his undutiful conduct and the losses and wrong done to the king and his subjects, he gave as the price of peace £50,000 sterling.

Llewelyn ceded and confirmed absolutely and entirely for himself and his heirs to the king of England and his heirs four cantreds in his dominions, precisely as they had formerly been held in their fullest extent by Henry, king of England, of glorious memory, or by king Edward his son, together with all lands taken and seized by our lord the king, or acquired by him in any other way, with the exception of the land of Anglesey, which our lord the king, of his special grace, granted and confirmed to Llewelyn and to his heirs lawfully begotten, to have and to hold as it had previously been held by Llewelyn himself, under a yearly tribute to the king's exchequer of 1,000 marks sterling, payable at Michaelmas. Moreover, solely of his grace, our lord the king granted and confirmed to prince Llewelyn for his lifetime all the land inherited by his brother David, the king giving David satisfactory compensation elsewhere during Llewelyn's lifetime; and this land, thus given as compensation to David, is to revert to the king and his heirs in the event of the death of either Llewelyn or David.

Before Llewelyn came into the presence of our lord the king he obtained absolution, and the interdict on his lands was removed. He then set free his brother Owen, and several others whom he had captured and imprisoned, owing to their service in the king's behalf, and came and took an oath of fidelity to our lord the king at Rhuddlan. And so all transgressions, wrongs and excesses done on either side up to that very day were absolutely pardoned. After this Llewelyn, prince of Wales, came under safe conduct to London, and there held the Christmas festival

with our lord the king. And after making a great feast on Christmas Day, as it is said, to the bishops, earls, barons, and others, he received permission from our lord the king to return home to his own country.

93. EARL WARRENNE AND QUO WARRANTO.

1278.

Translated from Latin of Walter of Hemingburgh, ii., p. 5. *Died after*
1313.

Shortly afterwards the king disturbed some of the nobles of the realm by wishing to know, through his justices, on what warrant they held their lands; and if they had no good warrant to show, he immediately seized their estates. Among the others Earl Warrenne was summoned before the king's justices, and was asked by what warrant he held. He thereupon produced in court an ancient rusty sword, and said: 'See, sirs, see, here is my warrant. For my ancestors came across with William the Norman, and conquered their lands with the sword, and with the sword shall I defend them against whosoever wishes to take them from me. For the king did not win and subject the land by himself, but our ancestors took a share with him and helped.'

94. THE STATUTE OF MORTMAIN.

1279

Translated from Latin of 'Statutes of the Realm,' i. 51.

The king to his justices of the bench, greeting.
Whereas some time since it was provided that men of religion should not enter into the fees of any

without the permission and consent of the lords-in-chief, of whom those fees were held in mesne, and since then men of religion have none the less even up to the present time entered upon not only their own fees, but those of others, by appropriation, purchase, and sometimes free gift, whereby the services due from fees of this kind, originally provided for the defence of the realm, are unduly withdrawn, and the tenants-in-chief lose their escheats therefrom; we, therefore, desiring that a fitting remedy be provided for this, to the advantage of the realm, on the advice of our prelates, earls, and other lieges of our realm, members of our council, have provided, decreed, and ordained that no man of religion or any one else shall presume to buy or sell any lands or holdings, or under pretext of deed of gift or lease, or any other title whatsoever, receive such from anyone or become their owner in any way what-



BRASS OF SIR JOHN
D'ABERNON (DIED 1277)
IN STOKE D'ABERNON
CHURCH, SURREY.

*(Said to be earliest existing
English brass)*

ever by device or subtlety, under penalty of forfeiture of the same, if thereby such lands and holdings come in any way into dead hand [*ad manum mortuam*]. We have provided also that if any person, a man of religion or other, shall have presumed to transgress this present statute in any way, by device or subtlety, it shall be lawful for us and other immediate lords-in-chief of a fee so alienated, within a year from the date of such alienation, to enter upon its possession and to hold it in fee and heritage. And if an immediate lord-in-chief shall have been negligent, and refused to enter on possession of such a fee within the year, then it shall be lawful for the next mesne lord in-chief of that fee, within the next six months, to enter on its possessions and hold, as set forth above; and any mesne lord shall do this if the more immediate lord shall have been negligent in entering upon such a fee. And if all the lords-in-chief of such a fee, provided they be of age, in England and not in custody, shall have been for the space of one year negligent or remiss in this respect, we, after a complete year from the date of such purchases, donations or other methods of ownership, will take such lands and holdings into our own hands, and will enfeof others with them on fixed services to be rendered to us therefrom, for the defence of our realm; always saving to the lords-in-chief of those fees, their wardships, escheats, and other appurtenances thereof, together with the services due and accustomed therefrom. Therefore we command you to have the aforesaid statute read in your court, and henceforth strictly kept and observed. Witness the king's hand at Westminster, the fifteenth day of November in the seventh year of our reign.

95. THE CONQUEST OF WALES.

1281-1282.

Translated from Latin of Thomas
Wykes' Chronicle, p. 287 [Rolls].
Contemporary.

In the year 1281, about the feast of the Annunciation [March 25], Llewelyn, the disturber of the peace made between himself and the king of England, instigated by his brother David, began to attack Flint and Rhuddlan Castles, and to waste the surrounding country. And when this came to the king's ears, who was at that time at Devizes, holding Easter, he sent some few troops to those parts to drive back the wretched Welsh raiders, and defend the castles till the king could take proper measures. At length he summoned the nobles of the realm together and held a Parliament at Worcester on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist [June 24], and it was there arranged that all the magnates of the realm should meet the king with horses and arms on the feast of St. Peter in Chains, on the Welsh border. Meanwhile David and his accomplices mortally wounded and took prisoner lord Roger Clifford, after cruelly slaying many of his people.

The king, gathering an army, took vengeance on Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, by most cruelly laying waste his lands. One day, too, some of the king's men left the main body, and by way of taking vengeance on Llewelyn were intently plundering at an unwise distance, when the Welsh burst out from an ambush in the woods and from the marshes and began to attack the English, who were but few in

comparison with themselves, and in this fight were slain the son of lord William of Valence, the king's uncle, and lord Richard d'Argentein; many were



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CONWAY CASTLE.

(Begun 1285, and finished before death of Edward I.)

barbarously killed, and the others with difficulty escaped by flight. The king stayed in the neighbourhood of Rhuddlan till the feast of All Saints [November 1], and the archbishop of Canterbury was

sent to Llewelyn in Snowdon to warn him and persuade him to keep the peace with the king, under which he chafed, and which he absolutely refused to keep ; but he could not be induced to come to terms. Meanwhile, while the archbishop was spending three days in Snowdon, the royal leaders imperceptibly but gradually entered Snowdon, thinking that they could seize it in force by treachery ; but the Welsh were forewarned and came to meet them, and at the first attack compelled them to flee ; and the fugitives, thinking to save themselves by crossing some river, not knowing the ford, were drowned in large numbers—the more famous being Lucas de Tany, William of Dodingeseles, and William la Zuche, while the others escaped only with the greatest difficulty. When the archbishop withdrew and came back to the king he excommunicated Llewelyn, the perjured disturber of the peace, his brother David, and all their accomplices and abettors. All this took place about St. Leonard's Day [November 6]. About the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle [December 21], as Llewelyn was coming down from Snowdon with a small following, on some unknown business, he was met unexpectedly by Edmund Mortimer with a small escort, and slain with his accomplices, who were unable to take to flight. The prince's head, which he recognized among the slain, Edmund cut off and brought to the king. The king triumphantly had the head taken to London and fixed on a spear above the Tower of London as a token of his splendid victory. The king of England for this Welsh war took a scutage of forty shillings from his whole realm.

Encouraged by his success, the king of England

had a suitable road laid open for him, and entered Snowdon in triumph, and kept Easter there in a Cistercian monastery called Aberconway, disposing of the whole of the principality of Wales at his pleasure, with the exception of the castle which in their language is called Bere, and which is surrounded by an impassable marsh, having difficult and very narrow entries and exits by a single road most ingeniously made. Into it, after his brother's death, David had thrown a garrison, while he himself was lying hid in the woods and practically inaccessible places. But the king besieged the castle, and so closely beset the garrison that, under the compulsion of necessity, they were compelled to surrender the castle to him; and on obtaining possession of it he made a bargain with some Welshmen that they should take David from his hiding-place and surrender him to the king as a prisoner; and the king sent him, with his wife and son, to Rhuddlan, and there imprisoned him and loaded him with fetters. And when Rhys Vychan [the little] heard what had happened, he surrendered himself and his followers to lord Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford; and he forthwith sent them to the king, and the king to London, with orders that he should be put in the Tower and most strictly guarded. . . .

About the feast of St. Michael [September 29] the king summoned to Shrewsbury the chief men of his realm and the best counsellors, both from among the burgesses and the magnates, and had David brought thither—who had been kept in captivity at Rhuddlan—to submit to the punishment demanded by his crime, and it was there decided that he should

die a fivefold death: firstly, to be torn asunder by horses; secondly, to be hanged; thirdly, to be executed; fourthly, to have his heart and entrails burned; and fifthly, to have his body quartered and hung up in four separate places in England. His head was carried off to London by the Londoners then at Shrewsbury, to be set as a conspicuous mark on the Tower of London, next to the head of his brother Llewelyn.

96. ACCIDENT TO THE KING IN GASCONY.

1287. Translated from Latin of John of Oxnead,
p. 269 [Rolls] *Circa* 1290.

In the first week of Lent the king of England, at that time in Gascony, had a serious accident. As he was standing on a balcony with several nobles round him, the floor of the balcony gave way beneath them, and suddenly fell from a height of twenty-four feet. Some were crushed by the fall, while others were uninjured; others, again, had their shins and thighs broken, and three knights were killed. The king had a bone in the region of the throat crushed and broken, a Gascon knight falling upon him and sustaining a broken thigh.

97. BULL AUTHORIZING MARRIAGE OF PRINCE EDWARD AND MARGARET OF SCOTLAND.

1289. Translated from Latin of copy printed in
Stevenson's 'Documents Illustrative of
Scottish History,' i. III.

Nicholas the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son Edward, son of our most

dear son in Christ, Edward, king of England, greeting and apostolic blessing.

Your petition to us showed that, on account of the proximity of the realms of England and Scotland, divers scandals and bitter hatreds have hitherto arisen between these realms and their kings, and that hence is known to have happened some danger to property and lives.

And so, since the king of Scotland of illustrious memory has entered upon the way of all flesh, leaving no male heir, and since our dear daughter in Christ, Margaret, child of our well-beloved son Eric, king of Norway, granddaughter of the king of Scotland, succeeds him in the realm of Scotland, it is honestly felt that, if the realm should come into the hands of another by a marriage concluded with Margaret, scandals and bitter hatreds of this kind could easily arise, and even worse dangers ensue.

Accordingly, to avoid dangers of this kind, and to settle and forget these scandals and bitter hatreds, and to create and nourish the advantages of true peace and affection between these realms and their peoples, you desire to be united in matrimony with the said Margaret; but because, owing to the hindrance of the third degree of consanguinity . . . this cannot lawfully be done, you have humbly begged herein the license of the Apostolic See.

We, therefore, desiring in these realms and everywhere else the peace and harmony of the children of God and of the Roman Church, and giving thereto all our possible care; hoping also that from this marriage, if it take place, God may grant the greatest prosperity and advantage to these realms

and drive from them the darkness of hatred ; reflecting, too, that if the king your father should, in fulfilment of his vow, go to the help of the Holy Land, the marriage of Margaret to anyone else might prove the ruin of the king himself, his realm, you, and by consequence the affairs of the Holy Land ; considering, moreover, that out of such a marriage between you and Margaret no scandals are feared by anyone ;

Moved by these and other such worthy considerations, we assent to your supplications ; we grant of our special grace and apostolic authority a dispensation to you and Margaret that—notwithstanding the impediment of such consanguinity—you may lawfully contract this marriage. . . . Given at Rome . . . November 16, in the second year of our pontificate.

98. THE STATUTE OF QUIA EMPTORES.

1290.

Translated from Latin of 'Statutes of the Realm,' i. 106.

Forasmuch as purchasers of lands and holdings, carved out of the fees of magnates and others, have often in times past, to the prejudice of such magnates, entered into possession of their fees, seeing that the free tenants of the latter have sold these purchasers their lands and holdings to be held in fee by them and their heirs, of the immediate feoffors, and not of the lords-in-chief of the fees ; whereby these lords-in-chief have often lost the escheats, rights of marriage, and wardships of lands and holdings depending on their fees, which indeed these magnates and other lords thought very hard and unfair, and

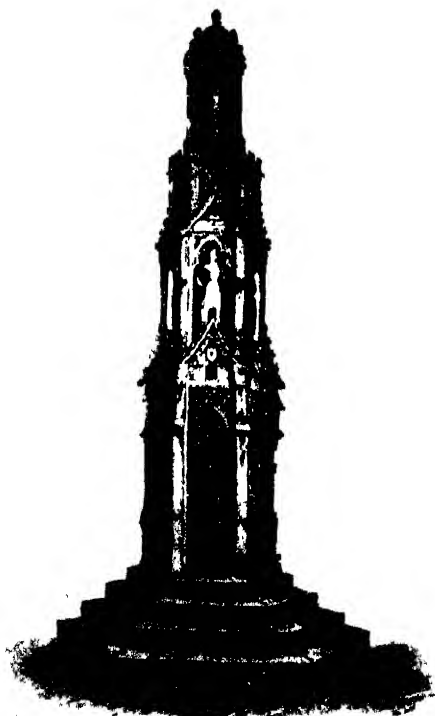
likewise in this case clear disinheritance ; therefore our lord the king in his parliament holden at Westminster after Easter, within the fortnight after the feast of St. John the Baptist, in the eighteenth year of his reign, at the urgent request of the magnates of his realm, did grant, provide and ordain that henceforth it be lawful for every free man to sell his land or holding or a portion thereof, at his goodwill and pleasure, but always on condition that the feoffee hold that land or holding from the same lord-in-chief and by the same services and customs as his feoffor held them previously. And if he shall have sold any part of the same lands or holdings to anyone, the feoffee shall hold them immediately of the lord-in-chief, and shall be at once liable for such service as belongs or should belong to that lord for that portion, according to the amount of land or holding sold ; and so in this case there shall fall away from the lord-in-chief that part of the service to be performed by the feoffor, from the time when the feoffee ought to be personally liable and responsible to the lord-in-chief for that portion of service thus due, according to the amount of land or holding sold. And it is to be noted that by the aforesaid sales or purchases of lands or holdings, or of any part thereof, those lands or holdings are in no way capable, in whole or in part, of coming into dead hand, by subtlety or device, contrary to the statute published some time since in reference thereto. And it is to be noted that that statute concerning lands sold only holds good in the case of those holding in fee-simple, and that it extends to future time ; and it shall begin to take effect on the feast of St. Andrew next ensuing [November 30].

99. BANISHMENT OF THE JEWS.

1290. Translated from Latin of Annals of Osney,
p. 326 [Rolls]. *Contemporary*.

Also another especially notable event, not to be passed over in silence, but rather to be commemorated to all time, happened in this year. About the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in the summer lately past, acting, as may well be believed, on the advice of his nobles, the king had it publicly proclaimed throughout his realm that all Jews, as enemies of the cross of Christ and blasphemers of the Christian faith, living in all the cities and towns of the realm of England, of whatsoever condition, age, or sex, who had so impoverished the Catholic people by the usurious interest on their money, so that some were constrained to sell their lands and possessions, begging their food through being thus victimized, should on the feast of All Saints [November 1] leave the threshold of his realm, and be condemned to perpetual banishment, without hope of return. And if, after this date, any of them had been found in England, he was to be executed or hanged. So, in great alarm at this terrible edict, with some few exceptions they all crossed the sea, and betook themselves and the goods they could pack together to foreign parts. And it was common gossip that those who took passage with the people of the Cinque Ports were robbed of their money and barbarously butchered by the masters of the vessels when out at sea, and were thrown overboard, but that some were cast out of the boats on to a sandbank, which was left uncovered by the retreating tide, but at the return of

the tide were drowned. When the king heard of this he condemned large numbers of the murderers



Grove and Boulton.

CHARING CROSS.

*(One of the crosses raised by Edward I. to mark the resting-places
of his wife, Eleanor of Castile)*

and robbers to be hanged. Undoubtedly, however great was the loss sustained by the king's exchequer

from the banishment of the Jews from the realm, it gained much more from the fifteenth levied on the whole realm, which the king extorted into the bargain from his Catholic subjects. Thus also Catholics are pitilessly punished for the enemies of the cross of Christ.

100. ENGLISH LANDS HELD BY ALEXANDER III.

1290. Translated from Latin of Patent Roll, 18 Edward I. m. 33. [Printed in Stevenson's 'Historical Documents of Scotland.']

The king to his well-beloved subject Thomas de Normanville, his escheator north of the Trent, greeting.

Know that we have granted to our venerable father in Christ, Anthony, bishop of Durham, all the lands and tenements in Penrith, in the county of Cumberland, in Tynedale, and in the county of Northumberland, together with all parts and appurtenances thereof, which were formerly held by Alexander of famous memory, king of Scots, and Margaret his wife, on a grant made by our father king Henry, to be guarded by him or his representatives in the manner determined by our verbal grant to him. And so we bid you to hand over to the said bishop these lands and tenements, to be held in the manner aforesaid.

Witness the king at Westminster, February 20.

101. KING EDWARD AND SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE.

1290. [Translated from French of letter printed
in Stevenson's 'Historical Documents
of Scotland,' i. 162.]

[Letter wherein Edward, King of England, guaranteed to the commonalty of the realm of Scotland all laws and customs holding in that realm, if a marriage should take place between his son and the Maid of Norway, heiress of Scotland.]

To all persons who shall see or hear this letter, Edward, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Guyenne, greeting in God.

Whereas we lately sent into Scotland the honourable fathers in God Anthony and Ralph, bishops, by the grace of God, of Durham and Carlisle, and our noble lieges John, earl Warenne, Henry, earl of Lincoln, William de Vescy, and master Henry of Newark, dean of York, our special messengers and proctors, who should in our name concede and grant certain things to the guardians, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, and all the community of the same realm, if the things thus granted were pleasing to us and our council; and the aforesaid great men and the community of Scotland for this and other matters sent us the honourable father Robert, by the grace of God bishop of Glasgow, and the noble peer sir John Comyn, guardians of the realm of Scotland, and the honourable father Alan, by the same grace of God bishop of Caithness, as their special messengers and proctors;

We, having been informed and advised on the things aforesaid, granted by our messengers, and

considering and weighing the love and affection which the people of the aforesaid realm have for us and our son and heir, Edward, have confirmed and established the deed and grant of our messengers aforesaid, as word for word is written beneath as follows :

[Here follows the text of the Treaty of Brigham (July 18) in the form of a proclamation issued by the English commissioners named above, stating the grants they have made. We proceed to give here the last clause of that treaty and the rest of the covering confirmation made at Northampton, on August 28.]

‘ In addition, we grant and promise, in the name of our lord the king, that he will, at his own charges and trouble, secure the confirmation of this present treaty in all its clauses by the pope within a year of the betrothal of the aforesaid Edward and Margaret, and within the same time its fulfilment with the community of the realm of Scotland. But if he shall not be able to do this within the year, he will secure that it be done as soon as possible, so that the matter be completed ; and if he do not do this in his own lifetime his heirs shall be bound thereto in all good faith.

‘ And we affirm by these present letters that all the above matters are to be so understood that nothing be in any way taken from or added to the rights of either realm by reason of what is now being done, nor of either of the kings of those realms to the prejudice of the free holding of their estates. In witness and full testimony of all the matters aforesaid, we have set our seals to this present document.

‘ Given at Brigham, on the Tuesday before the

feast of St. Margaret, July 18, in the year of our Lord 1290.'

And because the King of England has ratified and confirmed the matters stated above by another document of the same import, sealed with his seal and delivered to us, Robert of Glasgow and Alan of Caithness, by the grace of God bishops, and John Comyn, messengers and proctors of Scotland aforesaid, and for the better remembrance of his act, wishes to have the import of his writing sealed with our seals, we have put our seals to this letter, containing in French the whole import of the king's other letter, which we have in Latin.

Done and given at Northampton, the twenty-eighth day of August, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1290.

102. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR SCOTTISH AFFAIRS.

1291. Translated from Privy Seals to Edward I. in Public Record Office. [Printed in Stevenson's 'Historical Documents of Scotland,' i. 222.]

The king, etc., to his well-beloved in Christ, the prior and convent of Chester, greeting.

Whereas we lately commanded you diligently to examine your chronicles, registers, and every other secret document you possess, of whatever nature, in any way touching or respecting the history of the realms of England and Scotland, or of either of them, or of the kings and nobles of those realms, and to

send to us by one of your body an exact copy of what you found, under your common seal ; and whereas you have not yet given us this information, we ask you, as we have asked others, most carefully to examine the said chronicles, registers, and other secret documents you possess, recent as well as ancient, of whatever kind or date, touching the said realms or those formerly connected with them in any way, and immediately without delay inform us as to what you have found, under cover of your common seal, by our well-beloved clerk, Adam of Osgotby, the bearer of these present letters.

Given under our privy seal at Repton, March 21, in the nineteenth year of our reign.

103. EDWARD'S CLAIM TO THE SCOTTISH OVERLORDSHIP.

1291. Translated from Latin of Nicholas Trivet,
p. 319. *Contemporary*.

In the same year the king of England marched towards Scotland, and after Easter held a parliament at Norham, where, after consulting the prelates and the civil and canon lawyers and examining the annals of earlier times, he had the prelates and magnates of Scotland summoned before him ; and in their presence in the parish church of Norham he faithfully declared his right and overlordship to the kingdom of Scotland ; and he requested them to recognize this, maintaining that he would defend the right of his crown to the death.

Accordingly, he was recognized as overlord of Scotland by all the claimants to the Scottish crown

in letters then drawn up and sealed with their seals. These letters, written in French, were to the following effect.

[See next extract.]

104. THE SCOTTISH CLAIMANTS' SUBMISSION TO EDWARD I.

1291.

Translated from the French of Rymer's 'Foedera,' i. 755.

'We, Florence, earl of Holland; Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale; John Baliol, lord of Galloway; John Hastings, lord of Abergavenny; John Comyn, lord of Badenoch; Patrick Dunbar, earl of March; John Vescy, for his father, Nicholas Soules; and William Ros, greeting in the Lord.

Whereas we believe we have a right to the kingdom of Scotland, and intend to declare, challenge, and aver the same before him who has most power, jurisdiction, and reason to try it; and the noble prince Edward, by grace of God king of England, having informed us with good and sufficient reasons that to him belongs the sovereign lordship of the land;

We therefore promise that we will maintain his decision, and that he shall enjoy the realm to whom it shall be adjudged before him.

In witness whereof we have here set our seals in this writing, made and granted at Norham, the Tuesday after the feast of the Ascension in the year of grace 1291.

105. A SEA-FIGHT BETWEEN ENGLISH AND NORMANS.

1293. Translated from Latin of Bartholomew
Cotton, p. 227 [Rolls]. *Contemporary.*

In the year of grace 1293 English seamen came together in great numbers to attack the seamen of Normandy and to defend themselves from them, in order that they might boldly sail the seas in pursuit of their business and trade. And although the Englishmen were very numerous, yet, owing to a storm, they all made for places of safety with the exception of seventy-four ships which remained at sea; and then the Normans, on June 13, in great pride and with large numbers of armed men and 180 ships, with the wind in their favour, approached the seamen of England and Bayonne. But, the wind shifting to the opposite quarter, the seamen of England and Bayonne closed with the Normans, and although they were so few to fight such superior numbers, yet they gained a famous and almost miraculous victory over them, setting fire to some of their ships, sinking others, and capturing yet others. Some of the enemy fled and came to land, but were slain by the English and men of Bayonne who were there.

106. CONFISCATION OF GASCONY BY THE FRENCH KING.

1293. Translated from Latin of Bartholomew
Cotton, p. 233 [Rolls]. *Contemporary.*

[Making the fights between the seamen of the two nations and the alleged ill-treatment of appellants by the English seneschal of Gascony a pretext for intervention, Philip IV.

had summoned Edward I. to Paris to answer for the behaviour of the Gascons to his feudal superior—Philip himself. As the outcome of negotiations, including a proposal that Edward should marry Philip's sister, Blanche, conducted by his brother Edmund and the French queens, Edward had made a purely formal resignation of his French territories to Philip, pending a satisfactory arrangement]

In the same year, before Easter, the king of England was informed that the French king's sister, Blanche, refused to have him as a husband, and that he would be treacherously entrapped if he went to the meeting at Amiens; and this was clearly proved to be true by subsequent evidence; so the king did not go to the meeting at Amiens.

In the same year Philip, king of France, enraged because the king of England did not come to the meeting at Amiens, and because his treachery had been foreseen and had therefore no result, returned to Paris. There he called a parliament, and, seeing that he had the king's lands in his hands, and that the whole power of the realm of England lay outside Gascony and the king of England's other land, he broke his word of honour and promise about restoring to the king of England his lands after forty days, and had him deprived of Gascony and all the lands then in his hands; and he actually had a proclamation made for his capture, wherever he should be found, as an enemy of the king of France and the whole French state.

In the same year, after the feast of the Ascension, our lord the king held a parliament at London, which lasted several days, and in it permission was given and arrangements were made that the king should cross

the sea with his army to recover and defend his lands then in the power of the king of France ; and the men of the ports and other mariners were empowered to guard the sea and capture their enemies passing oversea, together with all shipping of Sluys and Flanders, even as far as Gascony.

107. THE KING AND THE CLERGY.

1294.

Translated from Latin of Bartholomew Cotton, p. 248 [Rolls]. *Contemporary*.

Thereupon [for the purpose of the French war] . . . the king demanded from the prelates a half of all their revenues, temporal as well as spiritual, as also from all the clergy of the realm, for one year ; and this in the end they granted him.

[Here follows an example of the writ issued for collecting the same.]

It is to be observed that, although the bishops had granted, as we have said, the half of their revenues, yet some of the clergy made a vehement resistance. When this came to the king's ears he sent knights to the meeting-place of the clergy's proctors, who stated, in his name, that ' whosoever among you resists and prevents the king from obtaining his will in this matter, from that moment our lord the king puts him outside his peace, allegiance, and protection ' ; and they added : ' Whosoever among you desires to oppose, let him stand up, that his person may be more fully known.' Thereupon there was no one who dared to oppose, and thus, albeit against their wills, they yielded herein to the king's will.

At the same time, in return for this concession, our lord the king granted his protection to the prelates and the whole of the clergy in the following terms.

[The form of protection follows.]

108. FRENCH RAIDS ON ENGLAND.

1295

Translated from Latin of Bartholomew Cotton, p. 295 [Rolls]. *Contemporary.*

In the same year, about the feast of St. Peter in Chains [August 1], eighty ships and five galleys, belonging to Yarmouth and that part of the coast, landed in Normandy, and there for about eight leagues along the coast and about three leagues inland they set fire to many towns and killed many men, taking great booty of gold and silver, cattle and other things, and returned in great triumph to England.

In the same year, about the same festival, some 600 ships and thirty galleys of France landed at Dover and plundered considerably, killing some ten men in that town; and coming against the priory of that town, they carried off the ornaments of the church and considerable property belonging to the monastery there. They also slew an aged monk who was lying in the infirmary. But when they would have fled to their ships some of the country-folk and townsmen pursued them and slew a good many of them, and among them, it was said, a great and powerful nobleman, the lord of Wabbay. The rest, leaving their plunder, returned with great confusion to their ships.

In the same year, about the feast of the Decapitation of St. John the Baptist, some Frenchmen with 700 ships and fifty galleys, as was said, came to Winchelsea, and attempted to enter the port. But



CARNARVON CASTLE.

(Built 1283-1322)

it chanced that at that time there were there eighty ships from Yarmouth and that part of the coast, and when they saw them the Frenchmen were afraid, and did not venture to enter the port. But the

Yarmouth men and their comrades took to their ships and galleys, and, making a bold attack, compelled them to sail away. When they pursued them out to sea, the Frenchmen, seeing the small number of the English ships, dropped anchor and waited their attack; but the Englishmen, seeing this, and not daring to come to closer quarters, under cover of night entered Sandwich harbour.

About the same time a French galley landed, by stress of circumstances, at Hythe, near Dover, with a crew of 200 men; and the country-folk, seeing it, came immediately in arms, and, putting the crew to the sword, took the galley.

109. A NATIONAL APPEAL AGAINST FRANCE,

1295.

Translated from Latin of Rymer, 'Fœdera,'
i., p. 827.

Edward, by the grace of God king of England,
etc.

As a most just law, established by the provident care of the emperors, urges and ordains that what concerns all should be approved by all, so also it evidently appears that common dangers should be met by remedies provided in common.

You are doubtless aware—and we believe that the news has now been spread throughout every clime—that the King of France has with fraud and chicanery tricked us out of our land of Gascony, shamelessly withholding it from us; but now, not content with this trickery and shamelessness, he has collected a huge fleet and innumerable soldiers to attack our realm, with whom he has now invaded our realm and its

people, and he proposes, if his power answer to the detestable design of the wickedness he has conceived, which God forbid, to blot out the English tongue from off the face of the earth. Because, therefore, weapons foreseen do little hurt, and you and the rest of your fellow-citizens of this realm are herein especially concerned, we order you, in the fealty and affection whereby you are bound to us, and strictly enjoin you on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Martin [Nov. 11] in the ensuing winter, to be present in person at Westminster; and you are to warn the prior and chapter of your church, the archdeacon and all the clergy of your diocese, and to cause the said prior and archdeacon in person, and the said chapter through one representative, and the clergy through two fit proctors, with full and sufficient power from the said chapter and clergy, by every means possible, to be then present there with you, to consider, ordain, and arrange with us and the rest of the prelates and nobles, and the other inhabitants of our realm, how to avoid these dangers and malicious plots.

110. JOHN BALIOL'S REPUDIATION OF ALLEGIANCE.

1295. From Latin of Rymer, 'Foedera,' ii. 707.

To the high and puissant prince, the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, John, by the same grace king of Scotland, greeting.

Whereas you and those of your realm, as you well know, or should know, by force and violence, have often notoriously inflicted upon us and the inhabitants of our realm grievous—nay, intolerable—

wrongs, insults and burdens, and, furthermore, incalculable loss against the liberties of us and of our realm, and against God and justice, by summoning us out of our realm on every slight pretext at your whim and pleasure; by unduly troubling us; by occupying our castles, lands and possessions, and those of our subjects within our realm, without fault on our part; by harrying our property and our subjects' property by land and sea, and receiving it within your realm; by putting to death merchants and other inhabitants of our realm; and by forcibly abducting our subjects from our realm, and detaining and imprisoning them in England;

And whereas to remedy these matters we have often sent you our envoys, and these grievances not only still remain unamended, but even daily increase by the action of you and yours, and get worse than before;

And whereas now you have publicly gathered together your army, and with a huge force, in order to disinherit us and the inhabitants of our realm, you have marched as an enemy to the borders of our realm, and, proceeding beyond them, have in our realm barbarously spread fire and sword, with violent invasion and attack by land and sea;

We, therefore, able no longer to endure these wrongs, insults and grievances, these losses and hostile attacks, by remaining in your allegiance and homage, albeit they were extorted from us by violence and compulsion, are minded to rise against you in defence of ourselves and our realm, to whose defence and safety we are bound by a solemn oath; and all allegiance and homage, both from ourselves and from

all faithful subjects of our realm, . . . we renounce by these present letters.

111. THE FRANCO-SCOTTISH ALLIANCE AND THE SCOTTISH NOBLES.

1295. Translated from Latin of Nicholas Trivet,
p 338. *Contemporary*.

John, king of Scotland, unmindful of his homage and allegiance, sent as envoys to the king of France, William, bishop of St. Andrews, Matthew, bishop of Dunkeld, sir John de Soules, and sir Engerrand d'Umfraville, and entered into a secret alliance against the king of England; and to secure the matter he proposed a marriage between his son Edward and Joan, the daughter of the French king's brother Charles, undertaking that he would attack the king of England with all his force and hinder him from making war on the French king, as is more fully set forth in the documents drawn up between the two kings. Now, the Scots chose twelve peers—four bishops, four earls, and four barons—by whose advice the king was to govern his realm; and it was by them that he was induced to consent to this treason.

112. THE KING, THE ARCHBISHOP, AND THE CLERGY.

1296. Translated from Latin of Bartholomew
Cotton, p. 322 [Rolls]. *Contemporary*.

In the same year, at mid-Lent, there met together at London the lord Robert, archbishop of Canter-

bury, and his suffragans, the religious and the clergy of the province of Canterbury, and after several discussions on several days, the lord archbishop came to the conclusion that they could in no way make a contribution to the king, by reason of the pope's edict, without incurring excommunication ; but nearly all the other bishops, religious and clergy were of opinion that a contribution should be made to our lord the king, for they maintained that the necessity constraining them excused them from the excommunication decreed in the edict, because otherwise they would have to die of hunger and want or be dispersed. For it was said that our lord the king had made a statute at Salisbury to the effect that unless churchmen obtained his peace and protection by the following Easter, all Church tenements, whether incorporated with churches or conferred in any other way, would be for ever forfeited, together with all property there found. And all the same, those who did not obtain his peace and protection would still remain outside them. The lord archbishop followed the dictates of his conscience in his wish to make no contribution to our lord the king ; however, he permitted all the others, without incurring any penalty through him, to follow their own consciences. Accordingly, nearly all of them, higher and lower alike, personally or through their friends or their proctors, obtained our lord the king's peace and protection by giving a fifth of their revenues, in accordance with the assessment of the earls of Lincoln and Winchester, and so departed from London, after receiving back their property and tenements. But the tenements and property of the

archbishop and of those who did not make their peace remained in the hands of our lord the king. And after the following Easter he did with them according to his pleasure.

113. THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR.

1296.

Translated from Latin of Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 175. *Temp. Edward I.*

At that same time persons worthy of belief heard a voice from heaven, thrice demanding vengeance on a wicked race, thereby, as it seemed to them, pointing to the wretched fate that immediately afterwards befell that people. For the base invaders of England, under stress of the Divine vengeance, hastily returned to their own country and again took foolish counsel; for with one part of their divided host to guard the narrow approach into Lothian, and the other the neighbouring march of the Vale of Teviot, they were to cut off and surround the English army in its onward march and to fall upon it from both sides. Therefore on April 21 the earl of Mar and others, together with picked young troops, marched to Dunbar, for they wished to have that fortress to fall back upon; and when they had harried the country round they set fire to the town and besieged the castle. But as there was a strong garrison inside, the countess, with her followers and the earl's brother, defended the place for two days. For the enemy, pretending that the earl had turned traitor, because to prove his loyalty he had gone over to the side of the king of England, persuaded the countess to accept an honourable capitulation, and so on the morning of the fourth

day [April 25] they entered the town, choosing as



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GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD I.—OBSERVE.

their commander an experienced soldier named sir Richard Siward. And when they had trooped into the city, like sheep into a pen, straightway before evening they found themselves surrounded by land and sea, as if God had brought them together to be at

their foes' mercy. When news of the siege came to hand, a summons was published in every corner of Scotland for Scotsmen to come together at once to relieve their countrymen; moreover, a day of battle was arranged to take place in the month of May. And the sword of strife was drawn not only by the hand of the laity, but of the Church too, for, under pain of sus-



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GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD I.—REVERSE.

pension, she ordered all parish priests every Sunday in public to pronounce a solemn denunciation against the king of England and Anthony, bishop of Durham, the clergy meanwhile chanting: '*Hold not Thy tongue, O God of my praise*' (Psalm cix.).

Moreover, it is well known that many priests joined in the fray, not merely by exhortations, but by actual fighting.

But seeing that truth ever prevails, and that a bad conscience shall ever rave presumptuously, when they saw the flower of their warriors and the strength of their host besieged within the town, they suddenly took alarm and determined to raise the siege, and so join the relieved garrison to their own army. And so on April 27, a Saturday, considered by them a day of evil omen, at nine in the morning, while earl Warenne, with hardly a fifth of the royal army, was preparing to dislodge them, they appeared in their pride on the ridge of a steep hill and challenged their adversaries to battle. And though their lines had been drawn up in dense ranks and strengthened in numbers, yet before they could engage at close quarters they were broken up in a moment and scattered, the fiercest among them turning first to flight. For the men-at-arms would have stood their ground obstinately had their cavalry not turned tail so quickly; and because victory is not in the numbers of the host, but comes from God, you might have seen in that battle the promise of the Lord to His chosen people: '*By one road shall they come against thee, and by ten shall they flee.*' So not less than 10,000 of the traitors were slain, and some priests were afterwards found among the

dead; but on the English side not one fell, with the exception of one rash soldier. . . . Wherefore the verdict was seen to go against the besieged. Now, the latter had lighted a fire on the top of the castle as a signal to tell their friends how and when they could best take the enemy unaware and harass him. And when some were for mining and others for breastworks, to be able to scale the wall, the besieged were terror-stricken, and on the morrow surrendered to the king's mercy. In this battle were captured and sent to different prisons in England: of the nobility four earls—Mar, Menteith, Athole, and Ross; and of others one hundred and thirty-four, among them many knights—twenty knights and four-score squires. Now, there were taken there 300 men-at-arms, whom the king did not wish to keep; but he exacted an oath from them and gave them their freedom, with a safe conduct to whatever place, not a garrison, they wished to go. This, even among his enemies, did much to give him a reputation for clemency.

114. EARL WARRENNE APPOINTED GUARDIAN OF SCOTLAND.

1297. Translated from the Patent Roll 25 Edward I.,
pt. i., m. 2. [Printed in Stevenson's
‘Historical Documents, Scotland,’ ii.
p. 184.]

The king to all his faithful subjects of the realm of Scotland to whom these presents come, greeting.

Whereas we are sending our well-beloved and faithful subject John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, our guardian of the realm and land of Scotland, to

those parts to punish certain rebels, malefactors and disturbers of our peace abroad there, who are committing murders and other serious crimes, and to put down their rebellion and malice ;

We strictly order you by the loyalty and affection whereby you are bound to us, that you do your best to advise and help the said earl, as if for ourselves, to do and carry out all and every one of these things, with horses, arms, and in every other possible way, doing what he enjoins you herein in our behalf. And as you regard our honour and in the constancy of your loyalty we trust that you will in no way fail herein. In testimony whereof, etc. . . . during our pleasure, witness the king, at Westminster, June 14.

115. FEUDAL OPPOSITION TO THE KING.

1297.

Translated from the Latin of Bartholomew Cotton, p. 325 [Rolls]. *Contemporary.*

In the same year, on the Sunday after the Nativity of St. John the Baptist [June 24], at an assembly in London, attended by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops, earls, barons, and landowners to the value of twenty pounds, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and marshal of England, Humphry, earl of Hereford and constable of England, together with their accomplices and allies, put themselves in opposition on behalf of the commonalty of the realm, maintaining that neither they nor any others bound by feudal tenure were bound to go with the king in his army to Flanders. And they brought forward many other articles, it was said, on behalf of the commonalty of the land. However, the king subse-

quently maintained the opposite, as will appear in the sequel. . . .

In the same year, after many various quarrels, our lord the king granted to all who owed him feudal service, and to all landowners of the value of twenty pounds, that they were not bound to go with him to Flanders, save at the king's wages and for pay.

116. THE BARONS AND SERVICE OVERSEA.

1297.

Translated from the Latin of Walter of Hemingburgh, ii. p. 121. *Died after 1313.*

On the feast of St. Matthew [Sept. 21], in the same year, the king held a parliament of the magnates of the realm, without the clergy, at Salisbury, and there asked certain nobles to cross to Gascony, and one by one they began to excuse themselves. The king, in great indignation, thereupon threatened some of them that they should either go or that he would give their lands to others who would go. At this many were checked, and dissension began to arise among them. However, the earl of Hereford and the earl marshal excused themselves on the plea that they would willingly fulfil the duties of their hereditary offices by accompanying the king himself. When the earl marshal was again pressed to go, he replied: 'Willingly, my liege, will I go with you, marching in front of you in the first line, as my hereditary right requires.' 'But,' said the king, 'you shall go even without me along with the others.' 'I am not bound to do so,' replied the earl, 'and, my liege, I am not minded to go without you.' It is said that the king hereupon broke out into these angry words: 'By God, sir earl, you shall either go or hang!' 'By the

same oath, my liege,' replied the earl, 'I shall neither go nor hang.' Then, without obtaining leave, he withdrew from court, and the council was dissolved indefinitely.

Immediately the two earls, Hereford and the marshal, were joined by many nobles and more than thirty chosen knights with banners, and soon had a great host under them, amounting to 1,500 men, mounted and equipped for war; so that the king began to be alarmed, but concealed his fears. However, the earls went to their estates, and refused to allow the king's servants to take wool or hides or anything else of a special nature, or to exact anything from them without their consent. They even forbade them to enter on their estates at all, under penalty of life and limb, and meanwhile prepared for resistance.

117. THE KING'S APOLOGY FOR TAXATION.

Translated from French of Patent Roll 25 Edward I.

Whereas the king always desires the peace, quiet, and welfare of his people and realm . . . he makes known and wills that all should know the truth of what follows.

Lately, when a great number of experienced soldiers of England—some upon request, others by summons of the king—came to London, his majesty being willing to provide for their discharge and the settling of their expenses, and that they might know what they were to perform, sent to the earls of Hereford and Norfolk, as constable and marshal of England, to attend him for that purpose.

[The earls refused to come, and the king professes not to know the reason.]

Yet they never came; and now it is said that the earls offered to the king certain articles for the common profit of the people, and that he utterly refused them, of which the king knows nothing, for they never propounded, nor caused to be propounded, anything to him, nor doth he know why they are retired; amongst which articles, it is reported, there were certain grievances, which the king understands well, as the aids which he often demanded of the people, on account of his wars in Gascony, Wales, Scotland, and other places, which could not be maintained, or his realm defended, without the assistance of his people; whereof he thinks often, that he should so grieve and burden them, and prays that they would have him excused; and, if it please God to give him leave to return from his voyage, he would have all men know that, according to his great desire and the will of God, and to the satisfaction of his people, he will amend all things whatever, as he ought. And if he do not return, he will order his heir to do it, as if he had returned himself; for he knows well that no man is so much bound to the realm or to love the people as he himself.

But, on the other hand, there is great necessity for his going to assist his ally the count of Flanders; and his going over is of that immediate consequence on account of the danger in which his friends from oversea are, so that if he should lose them the realm might be in great jeopardy. And therefore the people should have a confirmation of the Great Charter of the liberties of England, and of the Charter of the Forest, if they would grant him an

aid or gift, such as was necessary for him at this time, and the more so because upon his going over a lasting peace might ensue. . . . Given at Odimer, the twelfth day of August.

118. THE CONFIRMATION OF THE CHARTERS.

1297. Translated from French of 'Statutes of
the Realm,' 1. 124.

I. Edward, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to all those who shall see or hear these present letters, greeting.

Know that, to the honour of God and Holy Church and to the profit of our whole realm, we have granted for us and our heirs that the Great Charter of Liberties and the Charter of the Forest, which were made by the common consent of all the realm in the time of our father, king Henry, be kept in all points, without breach. And we will that these same charters be sent under our seal to our justices, as well of the forest as to others, and to all sheriffs of counties, and to all our other officers, to all our cities throughout the realm, together with our writs, wherein shall be instructions for them to have the aforesaid charters published, and to have the people informed that we have granted their confirmation in all points; and our justices, sheriffs, mayors, and other officers, who have the direction of the law of the land, under and by us, we charge to admit the same charters in all their points, in pleas before them and in giving judgment—that is to say, to admit the Great Charter of Liberties as common law and the Charter of the

Forests according to the Assize of the Forest, for the benefit of our people.



PARLIAMENT OF EDWARD I.

II. And we will that henceforth, if any judgments be given contrary to the terms of the aforesaid charters, by our justices and other officers who uphold pleas in

their courts contrary to the terms of the charters, they be annulled and held for nought.

III. And we will that these same charters be sent under our seal to the cathedral churches throughout our realm, and there remain; and that twice a year they be read to the people.

IV. And that the archbishops and bishops pronounce sentence of great excommunication against all those who shall transgress the aforesaid charters by word, deed, or counsel, or infringe them in any point or break them; and that these sentences be pronounced and published twice a year by the aforesaid prelates. And if the same prelates or any of them be remiss in making the aforesaid denunciations, they shall be made and compelled to make the aforesaid denunciation in the form aforesaid by the archbishops of Canterbury and York for the time being, as is fitting.

V. And whereas some people of our realm fear that the aids and tasks which they have made to us heretofore for our wars and other business, by their grant and goodwill, in whatever manner they have been made, may turn to their bondage and to that of their heirs, because they might be found at another time scheduled in the rolls, as also the prises taken throughout the realm by our officers, in our name, we have granted for us and our heirs that we will not draw into precedent such aids, tasks, and prises, no matter what may have been done heretofore or what can be found by roll or in any other way.

VI. And also we have granted for us and for our heirs to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other people of Holy Church, to the earls, barons,

and all the commonalty of the realm, that henceforth for none of our business will we take any such manner of aids, tasks, or prises of our realm except by the common assent of all the realm and for the common profit of the said realm, save the ancient aids and prises due and accustomed.

VII. And whereas the greater part of the commonalty of the realm feel themselves greatly grieved by the maletote of wools—namely, forty shillings for each sack of wool—and have prayed us to be pleased to remit the same, we have at their prayer fully remitted them; and we have granted that henceforth we will neither take these nor any other without their common assent and goodwill, saving to us and our heirs the custom of wools, skins, and leather granted aforetime by the commonalty of the aforesaid realm.

In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness Edward, our son, at London, the tenth day of October, the twenty-fifth year of our reign.

And it is to be remembered that this same charter in the same terms, word for word, was sealed in Flanders under the king's great seal—that is to say, at Ghent—the fifth day of November, in the twenty-fifth year of our aforesaid lord the king, and sent to England.

119. DE TALLAGIO NON CONCEDENDO.

1297. Translated from Latin of Walter de Hem-
ingburgh, ii. 153. *Died after 1313.*

I. No tallage or aid shall henceforth be imposed or levied in our realm by us or our heirs, without the

goodwill and common consent of the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other free men in our realm.

II. No officer of ours or of our heirs shall seize corn, wool, hides, or any other possessions of anyone without the goodwill and assent of their owner.

III. Nothing shall henceforth be taken from a sack of wool under the name or pretext of a maletote.

IV. We will also and have granted for us and our heirs that all the clerks and laity of our realm shall have all their laws, liberties, and free customs as freely and fully as they have been wont to have them at the time of their fullest enjoyment. And if we or our heirs shall have published any ordinances or introduced any customs contrary to these liberties or contrary to any article contained in the present charter, we will and have granted that such customs and ordinances be held null and void now and for ever.

V. Also to Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex and constable of England; to Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, marshal of England; and to the other earls, barons, knights, and squires; to John Ferrars and all others in their alliance, party and friendship, as well as to all who hold lands of the value of twenty pounds in our realm, either immediately from ourselves or from anyone else, who were summoned to cross the sea with us to Flanders on a certain specified day and did not come, we have remitted our displeasure and the ill-will we bore them for the reasons aforesaid; and we remit to them any offences they shall have committed against us or ours up to granting of this present charter.

VI. And for the surer guarantee of this matter we will and have granted for us and our heirs that all the archbishops and bishops of England shall have this present charter in their cathedral churches for ever and read it, and that they shall publicly excommunicate and in every parish church throughout their dioceses have excommunicated or cursed as excommunicate, twice a year all those who shall in any way have knowingly violated the tenour of the present charter in any clause thereof, or caused its violation.

In witness whereof our seal is appended to the present charter, together with the seals of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and others who have of their free-will sworn to observe, as far as in them lies, the tenour of this charter in each and every clause thereof, and ever lend their counsel and loyal aid to ensure its observance.

120. A CRITICAL YEAR.

1297. Translated from Latin of Bartholomew Cotton, p. 336 [Rolls]. *Contemporary*.

In the same year the lord Edward, son of the renowned Edward, king of England, summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors of cathedral churches, earls, barons, and numerous other knights, to assemble in London on the morrow of Michaelmas, to consider with him and the king's council matters of high and urgent import touching the whole realm of England and to bestow their counsel thereupon.

In the same year Edward, king of England, about the feast of St. Bartholomew [August 23] crossed to Flanders to help the count of Flanders, his ally,

because the king of France, with a numerous army, had marched into Flanders against the count, in order, if he could, to destroy and lay waste his lands and to capture him.

In the same year, after the king had landed in Flanders and had arrived at Bruges, fearing the treason of the townsmen, he and the count of Flanders retired to Ghent, and there made a long stay.

In the same year the Welsh in the English army made a raid into the territory of the count of Hainault, where they burnt many towns and attacked some markets, and returned to the king of England's army laden with booty.

In the same year the Scots rose against the king of England, having as the commander of their army William Wallace, who had previously been outlawed; he was secretly supported by the Scottish nobility. On a certain day earl Warenne, the king of England's representative in Scotland, and Hugh Cressingham, the same king's treasurer, with their supporters and only a scanty army—because they had been tricked into dismissing many of their men in consequence of the Scottish nobles' undertaking that the Scots would come in peaceably—came to Stirling; and though the Scottish army was considerable, yet they were nearly all in hiding in the hills. But when the English had crossed Stirling Bridge on the Wednesday before the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross [September 11], and were not yet arranged in order of battle, the Scots, who were ready with their lines marshalled, came down upon the English, and slew Hugh Cressingham,

treasurer of Scotland, and many others, knights and squires, and some clergy. Earl Warenne and others who were able took to flight, and subsequently arrived at Berwick. When the English stationed there saw this they all fled from Berwick, and left it ungarrisoned.

In the same year at the assembly in London, on the day after Michaelmas, of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops, prelates, clergy, earls, barons, many knights, and representatives of counties and boroughs, after many varied discussions, it was decided by the lord Edward, the king's son, and by all the king's councillors that the Charter of Liberties of the realm of England and the Charter of the Forests should be granted and confirmed anew. It was decided also that no prises should be taken, nor taxes or aids be levied, except by the consent of the archbishops, bishops, prelates, earls and barons, save those due by ancient custom. It was further decided that for the future the sum taken for a sack of wool, for fells, and for hides, should not be twenty shillings, as had lately been exacted on account of the war, but half a mark only. . . . Moreover, the lord Edward, the king's son, in his own person, and all the king's councillors, granted and faithfully promised to procure our lord the king's remission of all bitterness and ill-will, if he had any, towards Roger Bigod, marshal of England, Humphry Bohun, constable of England, and John Ferrars, together with their accomplices, allies, or supporters; and they promised to procure our lord the king's writ under the Great Seal in confirmation of all these matters.

121. THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE SCOTTISH WAR.

1297. Translated from French of letters, probably from Hugh Cressingham to Edward I, printed in Stevenson's 'Historical Documents, Scotland,' ii. 200, 206.

A.

. . . . Sire, before your letters reached me, I had been at Bolton Moor, in the county of Northumberland, by the advice of your council, which at that time was at Berwick, and the knights of earl Warenne, your guardian of Scotland—that is to say, on July 10, when the best men of the county came to meet me, and we decided to make an expedition against the enemy on the Thursday before the feast of St. Margaret [July 18], should the host come to Roxburgh on the preceding Tuesday. And the muster was held on the Wednesday, and we numbered 300 horse and 10,000 foot. And on the Thursday we would have made our expedition, had it not been for sir Henry Percy and sir Robert Clifford, who came to the said town on the Wednesday evening and informed those of your people who were there that they had received all the enemy this side of the Scottish sea into your peace; and it was urged, in answer to them, that, although peace had been made on this side, yet it might be well to march against the enemy on the further side of the Scottish sea, if they saw that it was necessary, or that an attack should be made upon William Wallace, who lay with a large company at that time (and does so still) in the forest of Selkirk, like one who holds himself against your peace. Whereupon

it was decided that no expedition should be made till the earl should arrive; and so matters have gone to sleep, and each of us returned to his own place.

. . . . Sire, if it be your pleasure, do not take it ill that I have so long detained your messenger, for verily I have been much discomfited that I could not make report of better news. And I detain William of Ledbury, your other messenger, by your leave, by whom I will let you know better news after the earl's arrival, if God will. Sire, may God save and keep your noble lordship, and increase your honours.

Written at Berwick-on-Tweed, the twenty-third day of July.

B.

Sire, I received your letters by the hand of Romeyn, your messenger, at Berwick-on-Tweed on the twenty-third day of July, wherein you commanded and charged me that I should take all I could raise from the issues and rents of the realm of Scotland for the accomplishment and advancement of the business which earl Warrene and sir Henry Percy pursue for you in these parts.

Sire, at the time when this letter was written, nor previously since the time I left you, not a penny could be raised in your realm of Scotland by any means, until my lord earl Warrene enters into the land and compels the people of the country by force and law. . . . And whereas, sire, you order me that if any of the people of Scotland have paid to your enemies rents which ought to have been paid to you, I am to have them levied again to your use, I will do

so, as quickly as I can. But, sire, let it not displease you, by far the greater part of the counties of this realm are still without guardians, either by death, sieges, or imprisonment; and some have given up their bailiwicks, and others neither will nor dare return; and in some counties the Scots have established and set up bailiffs and ministers, so that no county is in proper order except Berwick and Roxburgh, and those but lately. But, sire, all this shall be quickly mended, by God's grace, and the arrival of my lord the earl, sir Henry Percy, sir Robert Clifford, and the others of your council. . . .

Sire, I have caused a large number of ships to be got ready, which are in Berwick Harbour, to guard the sea, should the earl make a raid to the parts beyond the sea. . . .

Sire, you shall have other news from our parts, and good news, if God so please. Sire, may God save and keep your noble lordship and increase your honours.

Written at Berwick-on-Tweed, the twenty-fourth day of July.

122. WILLIAM WALLACE AND THE BATTLE OF STIRLING BRIDGE.

1297

Translated from Latin of Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 190. *Temp. Edward I.*

Six months had scarcely elapsed from the time of taking this solemn oath, by which the Scots had bound themselves in loyal submission to the King of England, when their treacherous villainy burst out again and urged them to fresh shifts. For the

bishop of Glasgow, Robert Wishart by name, ever foremost in treachery, along with James, Steward of Scotland, fashioned a fresh form of daring, or, rather, a fresh reputation for treachery. As they did not dare openly to violate the oath they had taken to the king, they caused one William Wallace, a man of blood, who had previously been a robber leader in Scotland, to rise against the king, and to call the people together to help him. So about the time of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin [September 8] they began to show themselves in rebellion; and when a numerous English army had been collected to march against them, the steward craftily said to them: 'We must not punish so many for the sake of one rascal: send a few picked men along with me and I will bring him in to you, dead or alive.' And when they had done this and disbanded most of the army, the governor led them to the bridge of Stirling, where, on the opposite bank, the Scottish army was assembled. The latter allowed as many of the English to cross the bridge as they were confident of defeating, and then, after blocking up the bridge, put to the sword all who had crossed. Among those who fell was the treasurer of Scotland, Hugh Cressingham, from whose complete hide Wallace had a broad strip taken, to make out of it a belt for his sword. Earl Warenne barely escaped with a few men, for the enemy hotly pursued them. After this the Scots made a victorious entry into Berwick, and put to the sword the few English they found there, for at that time the town was unwall'd, and was therefore quickly taken by either English or Scots coming against it in

strength. However, the castle was not surrendered on that occasion.

123. THE SCONE STONE.

1297. Translated from Latin of Nicholas Trivet,
p. 349. *Contemporary*.

The king then marched into the Scottish Highlands, the bishop of Durham always keeping one day's march in front of him. And when he had marched through Moray and reached Elgin, seeing that everything was quiet, he marched back and returned to Berwick. Now, on his return march he passed by the abbey of Scone, and there took up the stone used as a throne by the Scottish kings at their coronation and removed it to Westminster, giving orders that it should be made into a seat for the priests celebrating Mass. The king called a Parliament to Berwick and received the allegiance and homage of all the nobles of Scotland, who, for a perpetual memorial of what they then did, drew up letters patent thereon, sealed with their seals, containing in French the following statement.

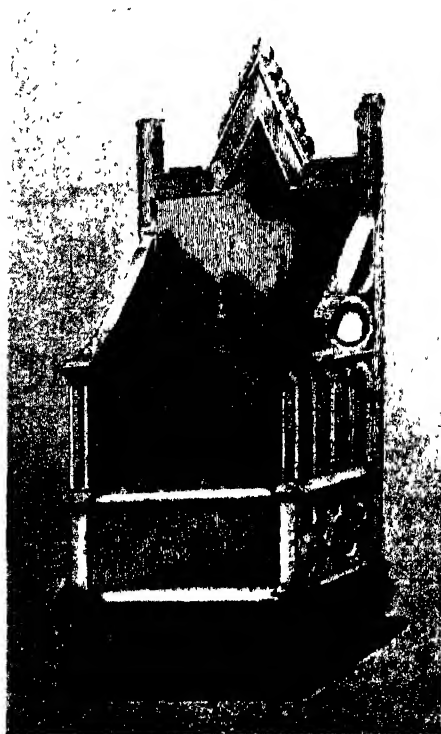
[Here follows the form of submission.]

124. THE BATTLE OF FALKIRK.

1298. Translated from Latin of Chronicle of
Lanercost, p. 191. *Temp. Edward I.*

The Scots, hearing of this sudden and unhopedor retreat, proceeded after Easter [April 6] to lay siege with all their strength to the Scottish castles at that time in English possession, and under stress of famine in the castles they occupied them all with

the exception of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and a few others; and after promising the



CORONATION CHAIR IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

English, on the surrender of the castles, life and limb and a safe return to their own country, William Wallace broke faith with them.

Meanwhile, a truce being made between the kings of France and England, the latter returned to England, and learning how the Scots had risen in his absence, he got together an army and marched towards Scotland. On entering the country he marched through some of it.

Now, on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene [July 22] the Scots met him at Falkirk, in full strength, under the leadership of William Wallace. As usual, they relied chiefly on their pikemen, whom they put in the front rank. But the English heavy-armed cavalry, of which the army was largely composed, surrounded them on all sides and rode through them. As the Scottish cavalry quickly fled, the pikemen and infantry who stood their ground valiantly were slain, to the number of 60,000, or, as others say, 80,000, or others, again, 100,000. There was not a man of noble birth slain on the English side, with the exception of the Master of the Templars and five or six squires, and he had been rash in forcing his way into the Scottish wedge. So now that the foes of king and kingdom were utterly defeated the English army marched to the Firth of Forth by one route and returned by another, destroying what the Scots had previously sent thither.

125. TRIAL OF WILLIAM WALLACE.

1305. Translated from Latin of Annals of London
 in 'Chronicles Edward I. and Edward II.,'
 i. 139 [Rolls]. *Contemporary.*

In the same year, on August 22, sir William Wallace, a Scot, came to London, where he was met

by a great crowd of men and women, and lodged with William de Leyre, a citizen of London, who lived in the parish of All Saints. And on the morrow, which was the Monday in the Vigil of St. Bartholomew, he was conducted on horseback to Westminster, followed and escorted by sir John Segrave, sir Geoffrey Segrave, the mayor, the sheriffs and the aldermen of London, with a great many others on foot and on horseback. In the great hall of Westminster he was placed on the bench at the south end and crowned with a wreath of laurel-leaves, because popular report had it that he had maintained in time past that he ought to wear a crown in that hall. He was at once called for trial, and was accused by Peter Mauley, the justiciar, of treason to our lord the king of England. Wallace replied that he had never been a traitor to the king of England, but pleaded guilty to the other charges made against him.

126. THE ARCHBISHOP SUSPENDED BY THE POPE.

1306. Translated from Latin of Bull in Annals of London in 'Chronicles Edward I. and Edward II.,' i. 145 [Rolls]. *Contemporary.*

In the same year, on May 18, Robert of Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, was cited, while staying in Dover Priory, personally to appear before our lord the pope. The bull containing this summons was dated February 12:

'Clement the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the abbots of St. Augustine and of Westminster, greeting and apostolic blessing. The higher

our venerable brother the archbishop of Canterbury—if he deserve to be called venerable—is advanced in God's Church, the more should he walk in the paths of episcopal modesty, especially taking care not to do those things whereby he would provoke against him the Divine majesty and the Apostolic See. Of a truth we hear many untoward things of him, and although we have reasons for thinking that they should not be spoken about at present, yet our conscience urges us to apply our apostolic solicitude to their correction. For not to correct the faults of prelates brings about the more deplorable results, the more easily their actions are made a precedent by their inferiors. Wishing, therefore, to admonish, according as his delinquencies require, the said archbishop, whom for certain causes reasonably persuading us thereto we have thought fit to suspend, in spiritualities and temporalities alike, from the administration of the see of Canterbury, as long as it be our pleasure and the pleasure of the Apostolic See; we order you, in virtue of your sacred obedience and under pain of excommunication, to be incurred for not fulfilling our commands, and strictly enjoin you, one or both of you, personally or by another or by others, to inform the archbishop of this suspension, and to be careful to cite him peremptorily on our behalf to appear, within the space of two months after such citing, in person before us, wherever we may happen to be, in order to receive full judgment in accordance with his deserts and our orders. Be mindful to inform us of the date of your citation, its manner, and your subsequent action, by letters with full details thereof.

‘Given at Lyons, February 12, in the first year of our pontificate.’

127. THE MURDER OF JOHN COMYN.

1306

Translated from Latin of Walter of Hem-
ingburgh, ii. 245. *Died after* 1313.

In this year Robert Bruce, fifth son of the son of that Robert Bruce who, as we mentioned before, disputed with John Bahol, before the king of England, for the kingdom of Scotland, and who, after trial, had his claim dismissed, now taking evil counsel, aspired to the Scottish throne; and, fearing John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, a powerful noble in that country, and a faithful subject of our lord the king of England, to whom he had done homage, and, knowing that his designs might be hindered by him, he treacherously sent two of his brothers, Thomas and Nigel Bruce, to him with a request that he would be pleased to meet him at Dumfries, to discuss with him certain business concerning them both; for the English king's justices were holding their court in the castle on the same day, February 10. Comyn, suspecting no ill, came to meet him scantily attended, and they embraced each other—not in peace—in the cloister of the Franciscans there. And after what seemed to be a quiet conversation, Bruce suddenly changed his tone, and perversely began to taunt Comyn with treason, in having denounced him to the king of England, and depressed and ruined him. But when Comyn replied without heat, and cleared himself of the accusation, Bruce refused to listen to him, but, as he had intended, struck him with his sword and foot too, and then went off. But Bruce's followers came in after him and struck Comyn down at the foot of the altar, and left him for dead. How-

ever, one of his escort, his uncle, Robert Comyn, ran up to help him; but he was met by Christopher Seaton, who had married Robert Bruce's sister, and was struck on the head by him and killed. Robert Bruce came out, and, seeing John Comyn's fine charger, mounted it, and his followers, mounting too, they went against the castle and took it.

128. BRUCE CROWNED KING OF SCOTLAND.

1306.

Translated from Latin of Nicholas Trivet,
p. 407. *Contemporary*

On the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin [March 25], in the abbey of the canons regular at Scone, Robert Bruce had himself solemnly crowned king. The wife of the earl of Buchan stole away from her husband, taking all his chargers with her, and hastened to Scone to place the crown on the new king's head; for her brother, the earl of Fife, on whom this office devolved by hereditary right, was then absent in England. Now, when this countess was captured by the English in this same year, some wished to put her to death, but the king prevented them; but she was put in a kind of wooden hut on the walls of Berwick Castle, so that she could be seen by passers-by.

129. EDWARD'S LAST EXPEDITION TO SCOTLAND.

1306-1307.

Translated from Latin of Chronicle of
Lanercost, p. 203. *Temp. Edward I.*

In the same year, on the feast of St. Scholastica [February 10], lord Robert Bruce, earl of Currick,

like a traitor, craftily sent for lord John Comyn to come to speak with him in the house of the Franciscans at Dumfries; and when he came he slew him in the church of the friary, along with his uncle, lord Robert Comyn. Afterwards he captured Scottish castles and their keepers, and on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin next following [March 25] he was made king of Scotland at Scone, being recognized by many, high and low, in the country.

When the king of England heard this he sent cavalry and infantry to Carlisle and Berwick to keep the border. The people of Glasgow, however, because they refused to be traitors, like this Robert, had their lands burnt by him, and one of their chief burgesses was pursued by him and besieged on a certain lake; but the siege was raised by the garrison of Carlisle, and Bruce himself had his engines and boats, which he had made for the siege, burnt, and had to flee. The garrison of Berwick, too, including the Englishman lord Robert FitzRoger, governor of the town, and the Scots lord John Mowbray, lord Angus of Umfraville, and lord Alexander of Abernethy, with his countess, all being under the general leadership of Aymer of Valence, entered Scotland, and received into the peace of the king of England some who previously, out of fear, had risen with lord Robert Bruce. Bruce himself they pursued beyond the Firth of Forth, and engaged him in battle at Stirling; there they slew many of his followers and at last put him to flight.

But meanwhile the king of England collected an army, and sent his son Edward, whom he had

knighted at that time in London, with 300 others, and the earl of Lincoln, by whose advice Edward was to act in all things, in pursuit of this Robert Bruce, who had had himself called king. And they entering Scotland received many to their peace, on condition, however, that they should in all cases abide by the law's verdict; and, marching to the remotest confines of Scotland, where they expected to find Robert, they did not indeed find him, but they took all the castles into their hands. . . .

[Here follows the account of hangings and quarterings of Bruce's adherents.]

Meanwhile, however, Robert Bruce was in hiding in the remotest islands of Scotland.

Throughout all this the king of England was not in Scotland, but his son and the army. But the king, by reason of his age and weakness, by many short stages, and carried on a horse-litter, slowly, in company with the queen, approached the Scottish border, and on the feast of St. Michael [September 29] reached the priory of Lanercost, which is eight miles from Carlisle, and he stayed there nearly till Easter [March 26, 1307]. . . . And on March 1 [1307] they left the castle for Carlisle, and there the king held a Parliament with all the magnates of the realm.

. . . Notwithstanding, however, the heavy vengeance taken on the Scots who favoured the cause of Robert Bruce, yet from day to day the number of those who wished to confirm him in the kingdom kept on increasing. Wherefore the king of England summoned all the nobles of England who owed him

service to be at Carlisle, along with Welsh infantry, within a fortnight after the Nativity of St. John the Baptist [July 8]. But, alas! meanwhile, on the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury [July 7], the illustrious and noble king died, at Burgh-on-Sands, which is three miles north of Carlisle.

130. ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF EDWARD I.

Modernized from copy in 'Political Songs,'
p. 246 [*Camden Society*].

All that be of heart true,
A while hearken to my song,
Of grief that death hath wrought us now,
That makes me sigh and sorrow among [in turns];
Of a knight that was so strong,
On whom God had done His will :
Methinks that death hath done us wrong,
That he so soon shall lie still.

All England ought for to know
Of whom the song is that I sing ;
Of Edward, king, that lieth so low ;
Through all this world his name can spring.
Truest man of every thing,
And in war wary and wise,
For him we ought our hands to wring ;
Of Christendom he bare the prize.

Before that our king was dead,
He spake as one that was in care :

Clerks, knights, barons,' he said,
‘ I charge you by your sware [oath],
That ye to England be true.
I die, I may live no more ;
Help my son, and crown him now,
For he is next to be y-core [chosen].’

* * * *

Now is Edward of Carnarvon
King of England all aright,
God let him never be worse man
Than his father, nor less of might
To hold his poor-men [commons] to right,
And understand good counsel,
All England for to rule and dight [manage] ;
Of good knights there need him not fail.

‘ Though my tongue were made of steel,
And my heart y-got of brass,
The goodness might I never tell
That with king Edward was :
King, as thou art cleped conqueror,
In each battle thou haddest prize ;
God bring thy soul to the honour
That ever was and ever is,
That lasteth aye without an end.
Pray we God and our Lady,
To that bliss Jesus us send. Amen.’

II.—THE LUSIGNANS.

(1) John, king of England=Isabella of Angoulême=(2) HUGH OF LUSIGNAN, count of La Marche.

Henry III.,
king of England.

Richard of Cornwall,
king of the Romans.

Guy Lusignan,
lord of Cognac.

William of Valence=Joan, heiress of
Marshals,
earls of
Pembroke.

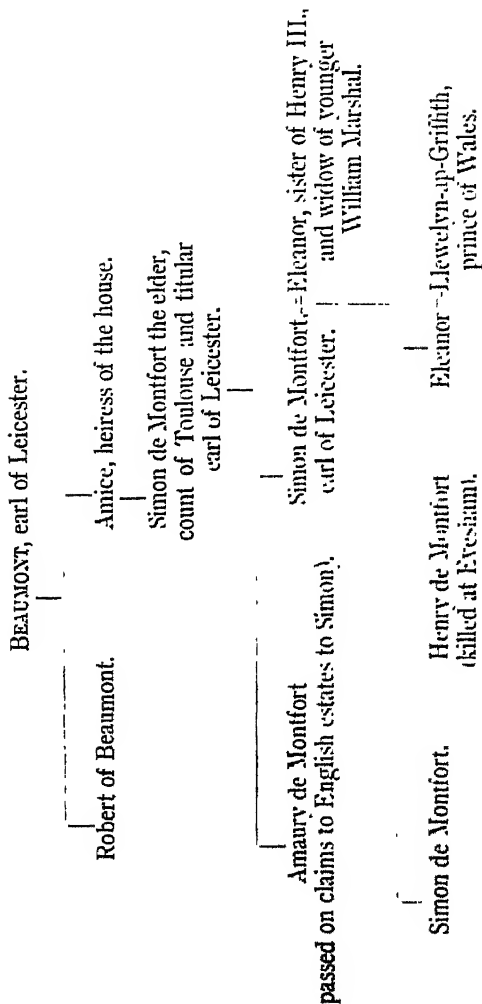
Aymor of Valence,
bishop of
Winchester.

Alice=John of Warenne,
earl of Surrey.

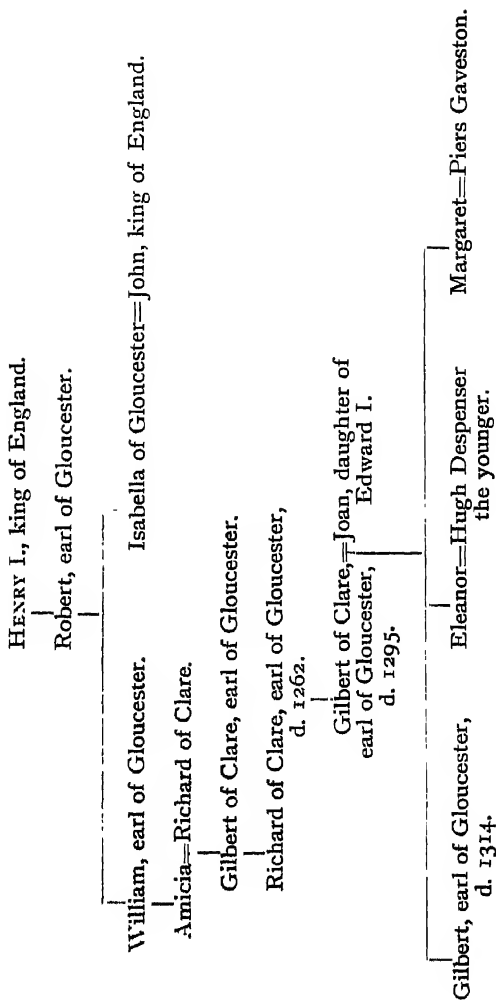
Aymor of Valence,
earl of Pembroke,
d. 1324.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

III.—THE DE MONTFORTS.

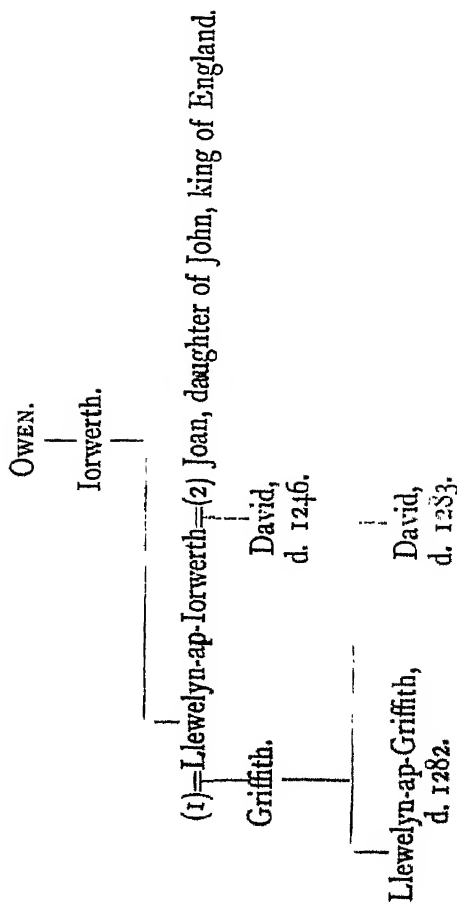


IV.—THE HOUSE OF GLOUCESTER.

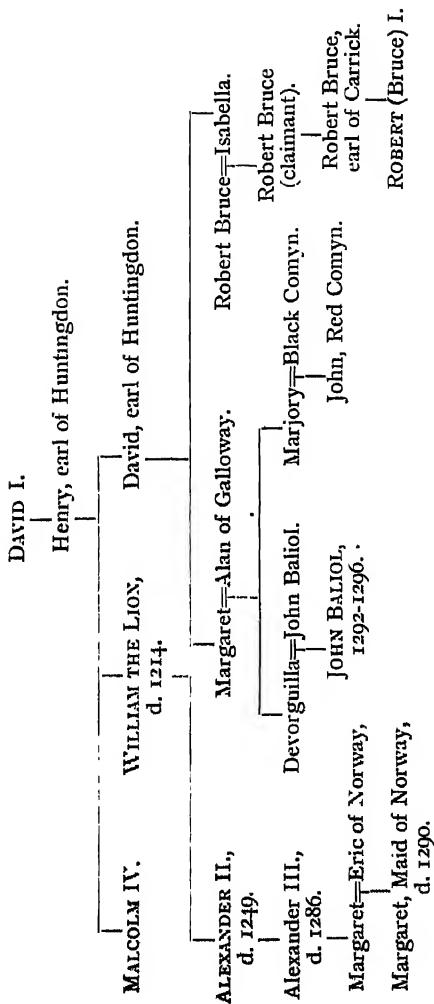


GENEALOGICAL TABLES

V.—THE PRINCES OF NORTH WALES.

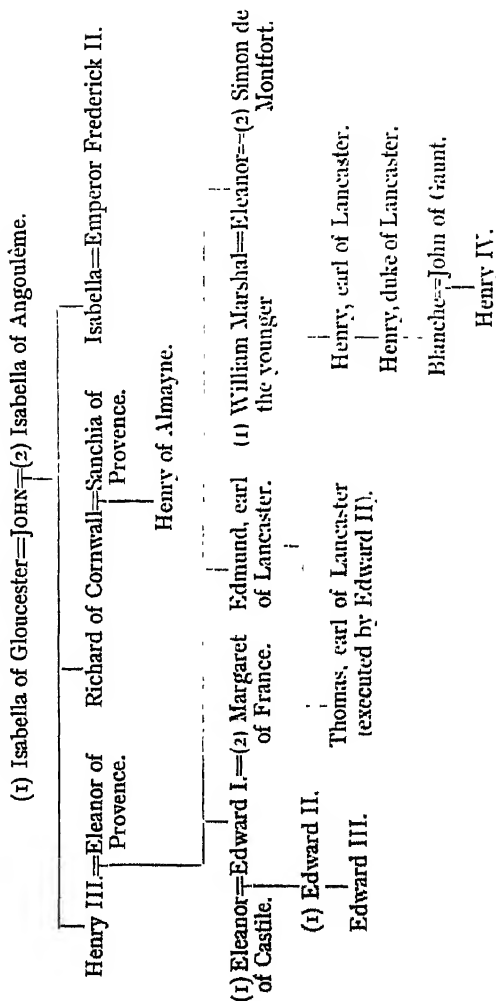


VI.—THE SCOTTISH CLAIMANTS, 1290.



GENEALOGICAL TABLES

VII.—DESCENDANTS OF JOHN, KING OF ENGLAND.



REVIEW OF AUTHORITIES

A SHORT review of the authorities used in the compilation of this book is here subjoined. The references in the text refer to the editions here mentioned.

1. ROGER OF WENDOVER (died 1236) was the historiographer of St. Albans.

He 'becomes original in 1216, and remains a chief source, copious and interesting, if not always precise, until 1235.'
—Tout, 'Political History of England.'

2. MATTHEW PARIS, the successor of Roger of Wendover, whose work he re-edited and continued in his 'Chronica Majora,' a contemporary history for the period 1235-1259.

'Much of the author's information was gathered from eye-witnesses of the events narrated. He speaks the truth fearlessly, boldly condemning the abuses of the court and the Church, rebuking pope, king, nobles, and clergy, when they are deemed worthy of blame.'—Gross, 'Sources of English History.'

'Perhaps the greatest historian of the Middle Ages.'—Tout, *op. cit.*

3. THOMAS OF ECCLESTON wrote a 'valuable contemporary account of the history of the Franciscans in England,' called 'De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam.' It has been edited in the Rolls Series, with other Franciscan literature, under the title 'Monumenta Franciscana.'
4. THE ANNALS OF BURTON-UPON-TRENT, with the annals mentioned below (Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8), have been edited as 'Annales Monastici' in the Rolls Series. Their editor calls the Burton Annals 'one of the most valuable collections of materials for the history of the time that we possess.'

5. THE ANNALS OF WAVERLEY 'from 1219 to 1266 were written contemporaneously with the events described . . . and form one of the chief authorities for the reign of Henry III., especially for the events preceding and following the Battle of Evesham.'—Gross.
6. THE ANNALS OF OSENEY were also probably written contemporaneously for each year from 1233 until 1277. A fuller account is given under the next entry.
7. THE CHRONICLE OF THOMAS WYKES. Wykes was a canon of Oseney, and his Chronicle is published in the Rolls Series as a variant of the 'Oseney Annals.' The two works are, however, distinct from 1258 to 1278, from 1280 to 1284, and from 1285 to 1289. 'Wykes,' says Professor Tout, 'is of unique interest for the Barons' Wars, and he is the only competent chronicler who takes the royalist side.'
8. THE ANNALS OF WINCHESTER are printed in the same volume in the Rolls Series as the 'Annals of Waverley' and are of special importance for the years 1267-1277.
9. ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER was the author of a metrical English Chronicle. Dr. Gross says that 'the contemporary narrative of the Barons' Wars is of some value.'
10. WALTER OF HEMINGBURGH's Chronicle has been edited for the English History Society. It is chiefly valuable for the reign of Edward I., and contains many documents not found elsewhere. The author died after 1313.
11. NICHOLAS TRIVET has also been edited for the same Society.

'He was a Dominican friar, . . . and for the reign of Edward I. the work is a valuable contemporary record.'—Gross.
12. BARTHOLOMEW COTTON, a monk of the cathedral church of Norwich, began his 'Historia Anglicana' in 1292.

'He died about 1298, and his work is remarkable for the large number of Papal Bulls, royal letters, and other documents which it contains.'—Gross.
13. JOHN OF LONDON wrote a 'Commendatio Lamentabilis in Transitu Magni Regis Edwardi,' a eulogy of the king,

edited by Dr Stubbs in 'Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.' (Rolls Series).

14. As part of the same Chronicles, Dr. Stubbs also edited the 'Annals of London.'

'The account of the general history of England, 1301-1316, is valuable. . . . The work was written by a citizen of London, who had easy access to the records of the corporation.'—Gross.

15. THE CHRONICLE OF LANERCOST, edited by Mr. Stevenson in 1839 for the Bannatyne Club, seems to have been written or revised by a Franciscan of Carlisle. It is of especial importance for Scottish affairs, but has a strong English bias. The greater part of it was probably composed in the time of Edward I.

16. BRUT-Y-TYWYSGION ('Chronicle of the Princes'), a Welsh history, has been published and translated in the Rolls Series.

'It is one of the chief authorities for Welsh history. . . . From about A.D. 1100 onward the work seems to be contemporary with the events narrated. It was perhaps compiled in the abbey of Strata Florida.'—Gross.

In addition to these works extracts have been taken from the following collections :

17. POLITICAL SONGS OF ENGLAND, from the reign of John to that of Edward II. Edited and translated by Thomas Wright. Camden Society.
18. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III.; from the originals in the Public Record Office. Edited by W. W. Shirley. Rolls Series.
19. RYMER'S 'FEDERA,' etc., an invaluable collection of documents arranged by Thomas Rymer and dedicated to Queen Anne, was republished by the Record Commission in 1816.
20. STATUTES OF THE REALM. Vol. i., 1810.
21. MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA. Edited by J. S. Brewer (Rolls Series), and containing, besides Thomas of Eccleston's narrative and other accounts of the Franciscans, the letters of Adam Marsh, a friend of Simon de Montfort.

22. DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, 1286-1306. Edited by Joseph Stevenson. 1870
23. SELECT CHARTERS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY TO THE REIGN OF EDWARD I. Edited by W. W. Stubbs. (In the present text reference has been made to the original authority.)

SOME USEFUL MODERN BOOKS.

I. GENERAL BOOKS ON PERIOD 1216-1307.

- STUBBS, W. W. : Select Charters (*cf. supra*, No. 23). See Introduction
- Constitutional History of England. Vol. ii.
- TOUT, T. F. : Political History of England. Longmans, 1905. Vol. iii.
- : Edward I. Macmillan. English Statesmen Series.
- JENKS, EDWARD : Edward I. Heroes of the Nations Series.
- GASQUET, DOM F. A. . Henry III. and the Church.
- MAXWELL, Sir H. : Robert the Bruce. Heroes of the Nations Series.

II. BOOKS DEALING WITH SPECIAL ASPECTS.

1. *Army and Navy.*

- GEORGE, H. B. : Battles of English History. Clarendon Press.
 'The best work on the subject.'—Gross.
- NICOLAS, N. H. : A History of the Royal Navy. Out of print.
 'The best history of the navy.'—Gross.
- OMAN, C. : History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages.
- MORRIS, J. E. : Welsh Wars of Edward I.

2. *Church and Universities.*

- JESSOPP, AUGUSTUS : The Coming of the Friars and other Studies. Unwin.

A collection of essays dealing with monastic, village, and University life.

JESSOPP, AUGUSTUS. *Studies by a Recluse*. Unwin.

The first three chapters deal with Matthew Paris and monastic life.

GASQUET, DOM F. A. : *Henry III. and the Church*. 1905.

STEPHENS, W. R. W. : *History of the English Church, 1066-1272*.
Macmillan. General editors, Stephens and Hunt.

'When completed this series will probably give the best general survey of the history of the English Church.'
—Gross.

RASHDALL, H. : *Universities of the Middle Ages*.

3. *Commerce and Industry*.

ASHLEY, W. J. : *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*. Two vols. Longmans.

CUNNINGHAM, WILLIAM. *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (2 vols.). Vol. i. Cambridge Press.

——— : *Alien Emigrants in England*. Sonnenschein.

4. *Social*.

BATESON, M. : *Medieval England. Stories of the Nations Series*.

JUSSERAND, J. J. : *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*.
Unwin.

TRAILL, H. D. (editor) : *Social England*. By various writers
(6 vols). Cassell.

'The best general work. There is a bibliography at the end of each chapter.'—Gross.

The period 1216-1307 is dealt with in vol. ii.

5. *Bibliographies*.

[As the above works are necessarily but a few from a great mass of authorities, a short list of bibliographies is here given. That by Dr. Charles Gross must long remain the standard English work.]

GAIRDNER, JAMES : *Early Chroniclers of Europe*. England.
S.P.C.K. A work in three volumes—England, France,
and Italy.

'A good popular account of the Chroniclers to the latter part of the sixteenth century.'—Gross.

GARDINER, S. R., and MULLINGER, J. B.: Introduction to the Study of English History. Kegan Paul.

Part I is taken up with a general sketch of English History by S. R. Gardiner; Part II., by J. B. Mullinger, has a short critical account of the chief sources.

GROSS, CHARLES: The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485. Longmans.

A great work, entirely superseding all other bibliographies of the sources of English history.

TOUT, T. F.: Political History of England. Vol. iii. 1216-1377.

Contains a valuable bibliography of sources for this period, of which considerable use has been made in the present book, and is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

SONNENSCHN, W. S.: Bibliography of History. Sonnenschnein.

DATE SUMMARY

I. THE KING'S MINORITY.

1216. Accession of Henry III., aged nine. William Marshal and the papal legate head the national party in opposition to Louis of France.
1217. Defeat of the anti-national party at Lincoln (2) and in a sea-fight off Dover. Louis has to accept the Treaty of Lambeth, and leaves England (3). Magna Carta is confirmed, and order is gradually restored by the earl marshal and the papal legate.
1219. Death of William Marshal; his place as regent is really taken by Pandulf, while Hubert de Burgh is made justiciar.
1221. Hubert de Burgh's influence increases, chiefly owing to his understanding with Stephen Langton, who secures Pandulf's recall. He puts down Albemarle's rebellion, and wages war in Wales.
- Arrival of the Dominicans.
1224. Revolt of Falkes de Bréauté, last and greatest of John's mercenaries; his troops are defeated at Bedford (14), and Falkes is exiled.
- Louis VIII. of France conquers Poitou from England (13).
- Arrival of the Franciscans (15).
1225. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, head an expedition to Gascony (16).
1226. Rejection of the Pope's demand for the revenue of a prebend in every English cathedral.

2. THE POITEVIN AND PROVENÇAL FAVOURITES.

1228. Accession of St. Louis (IX.) to the throne of France.
Death of Stephen Langton.
- 1229-1330. Henry III.'s unsuccessful campaign in Brittany and Poitou.
1229. The Church makes a grant of a tenth on all property to the Pope ; the barons refuse.
1231. Henry III.'s second Welsh campaign.
1232. Fall of Hubert de Burgh (21). He is succeeded in power by his old enemy, Peter des Roches. The Poitevins come into favour with the king (22).
1233. Baronial revolt under Richard Marshal, assisted by Hubert de Burgh.
1234. Richard Marshal defeated and slain in Ireland (24).
Peter des Roches dismissed by the influence of Edmund Rich, now Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry becomes his own justiciar (25).
1235. Robert Grosseteste becomes Bishop of Lincoln.
1236. Henry marries Eleanor of Provence ; consequent promotion of Provençals and Savoyards.
1239. Simon de Montfort made earl of Leicester ; he marries Eleanor, the king's sister, widow of William Marshal the younger (28).
1240. Death of Edmund Rich (31).
Death of Llewelyn-ap-Iorwerth.
1242. Henry fails to reconquer Poitou ; campaign of Taillebourg (34).
Peter of Savoy, the queen's uncle, made Earl of Richmond, and other promotions of Savoyards, another uncle of the queen, Boniface, being appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.
The barons in council refuse to grant the king subsidies.

3. OPPOSITION TO ROYAL AND PAPAL EXACTIONS.

1243. Grosseteste opposes the king and the Pope (Innocent IV.) in the matter of preferment of Italians to English benefices.

1244. Further papal exactions through the legate, Master Martin (35).
 Simon de Montfort, supported by the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall, proposes reforms limiting the king's power by increasing the power of the Council, but is checked by the Pope's veto.
1246. English protests against the Pope's exactions (41).
1248. English influence seriously declining in Gascony, Simon de Montfort is sent there as governor.
1253. Complaints of the Gascons against Simon's rule. Henry III. goes to Gascony. Quarrel between Simon and the king (48).
1254. Edward, Henry's eldest son, marries Eleanor of Castile (55).
1255. The crown of Sicily accepted for Edmund, the king's son, from the Pope (56).
1257. The Council refuses subsidies to conquer Sicily, but large sums are exacted from the clergy.

4. THE BARONS' WARS.

1257. Welsh campaign of Henry and Edward (66).
 Richard of Cornwall being elected King of the Romans (63), Simon de Montfort becomes head of the baronial opposition.
1258. The barons draw up the Provisions of Oxford in the Mad Parliament (68-70).
 (i.) A committee of fifteen barons appointed to advise the king.
 (ii.) This committee made responsible to the barons.
- Expulsion of foreigners.
1259. Quarrels between the baronial leaders, Simon de Montfort and Richard Clare, earl of Gloucester (72).
 Prince Edward supports Simon, and secures the acceptance by the king of the Provisions of Westminster, which are chiefly directed against the abuse of power by the sheriffs.
- Treaty of Paris (74).

1261. Henry absolved by the Pope from his oath to observe the Provisions.
 Death of Gloucester ; his heir, Gilbert, supports Simon.
1263. Outbreak of civil war ; St. Louis is accepted by both parties as arbiter.
1264. In the Mise of Amiens (75) Louis decides all points in the king's favour, but the barons refuse to accept his decision, and take up arms ; they defeat and capture the king at Lewes (77-78). By the Mise of Lewes Prince Edward also becomes their prisoner. Power is placed in the hands of a committee of nine, acting with and for the king.
1265. Simon de Montfort calls a Parliament, consisting of his supporters, but elected on a general representative basis. Gloucester and Montfort quarrel, and Edward, escaping, joins Gloucester. Battle of Evesham, in which Montfort is defeated and slain (82).
1266. The revolt of the Disinherited is settled by the Dictum of Kenilworth, which annuls the Provisions of Oxford and pardons the rebels on payment of large fines (85).
1267. Statute of Marlborough—a re-enactment of the Provisions of Westminster.
1270. Edward goes on crusade.

5. EDWARD'S LEGISLATION AND THE CONQUEST OF WALES.

1272. Accession of Edward I.
1274. Edward returns to England (88).
1275. First Statute of Westminster regulates freedom of Church elections and defines feudal aids.
1277. Edward's first expedition into Wales. Llewelyn, who had refused homage, is defeated, and by the Treaty of Aberconway is left with only a small part of the Principality in the north ; in the ceded districts Edward tries to introduce English law and customs (92).

1278. Statute of Gloucester regulates feudal jurisdictions by issuing writs of 'Quo Warranto,' to inquire by what warrant these jurisdictions are held (93).
1279. Statute of Mortmain checks the giving of land to corporations—*i.e.*, the Church—which are unable to perform feudal services (94).
1282. Welsh revolt; Llewelyn is killed on the Wye; his brother David is captured in Snowdon (95).
1283. Execution of David.
Statute of Merchants provides for the recovery of traders' debts.
1284. By the Statute of Wales the Principality is annexed to the English crown, and parts of it are divided into shires for administrative purposes.
1285. Second Statute of Westminster, by its clause, *De Donis Conditionalibus*, establishes the law of entail, by which estates cannot be diverted from certain specified heirs.
The Statute of Winchester practically a restatement of the Assize of Arms.
1286. Edward goes to Gascony to restore order, and while there acts as arbiter between the Kings of France and Aragon.

6. THE SCOTTISH SUCCESSION.

1286. Death of Alexander III. of Scotland; he is succeeded by his granddaughter, Margaret, Maid of Norway.
1289. Edward returns to England; he dismisses some of the justices for corruption.
Treaty of Salisbury.
1290. Treaty of Brigham (101) concludes a marriage proposal between Prince Edward of England and Margaret, Queen of Scotland, but Margaret dies very soon afterwards.
Third Statute of Westminster (*Quia Emptores*) checks the system of transferring land to sub-tenants, by which the chief lords lost the usual feudal profits (98).

All land transferred is to be held of the chief lords.

Death of Eleanor of Castile.

1291. The Award of Norham (genealogical table, p. 233).

Edward recognised as overlord (103).

1292. John Baliol declared king of Scotland.

7. TROUBLES AT HOME AND ABROAD.

1294. Philip, King of France, seizes Gascony on Edward's refusal to appear before him in connection with the defeat of French merchants by English and Gascons in a naval battle of the preceding year (105-6); consequent war with France.

1295. English failure in Gascony. The French attack English towns (108), and make an alliance with the Scots; Baliol repudiates his allegiance to Edward (109).

The Model Parliament (110).

1296. Edward invades Scotland, wins the Battle of Dunbar (113), deposes John Baliol, and establishes an English regency.

The Pope (Boniface VIII.) issues the bull *Clericis Laicos*.

1297. The clergy consequently refuse the king supplies, but are forced to obedience by being put out of his protection.

The baronial opposition (116) forces from Edward the *Confirmatio Cartarum*, after he had sailed to Flanders (118).

Revolt of William Wallace (121) and English defeat at Stirling Bridge (122).

1298. Edward invades Scotland and defeats Wallace at Falkirk (124).

1299. The Treaty of Montreuil arranges for the marriage of Edward and Margaret and of Edward's son and Isabella of France. Scotland is abandoned by France.

- 1301. Edward's heir, Edward of Carnarvon, is made Prince of Wales.
- 1303. The Peace of Paris restores Gascony to Edward, who now again invades Scotland.
- 1305. Capture and execution of William Wallace (125) ; conquest and settlement of Scotland.
- 1306. Murder of Comyn by Robert Bruce (127 and genealogical table). Bruce is crowned at Scone. Edward prepares a new invasion (129).
- 1307. Death of Edward I.

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